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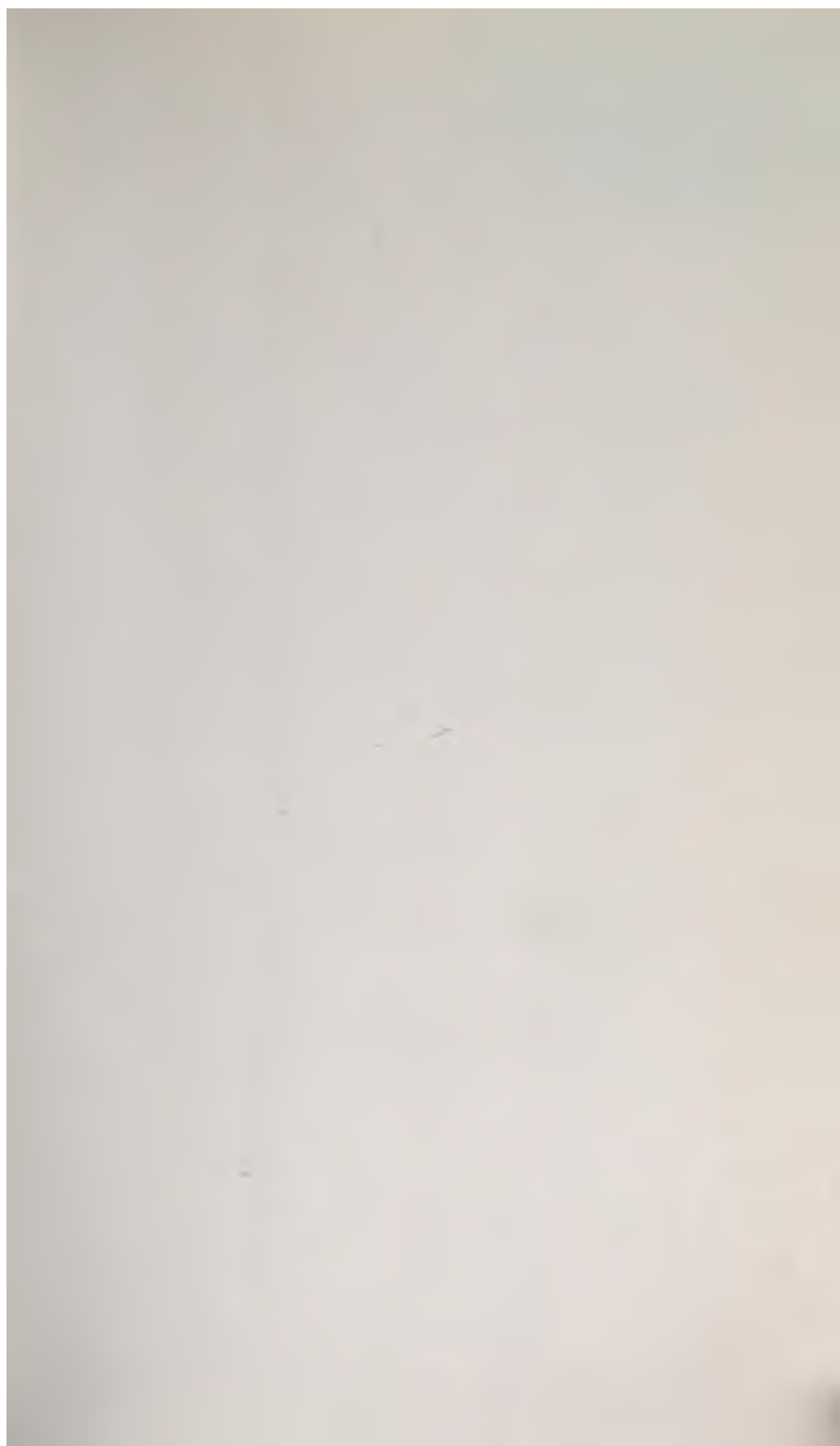
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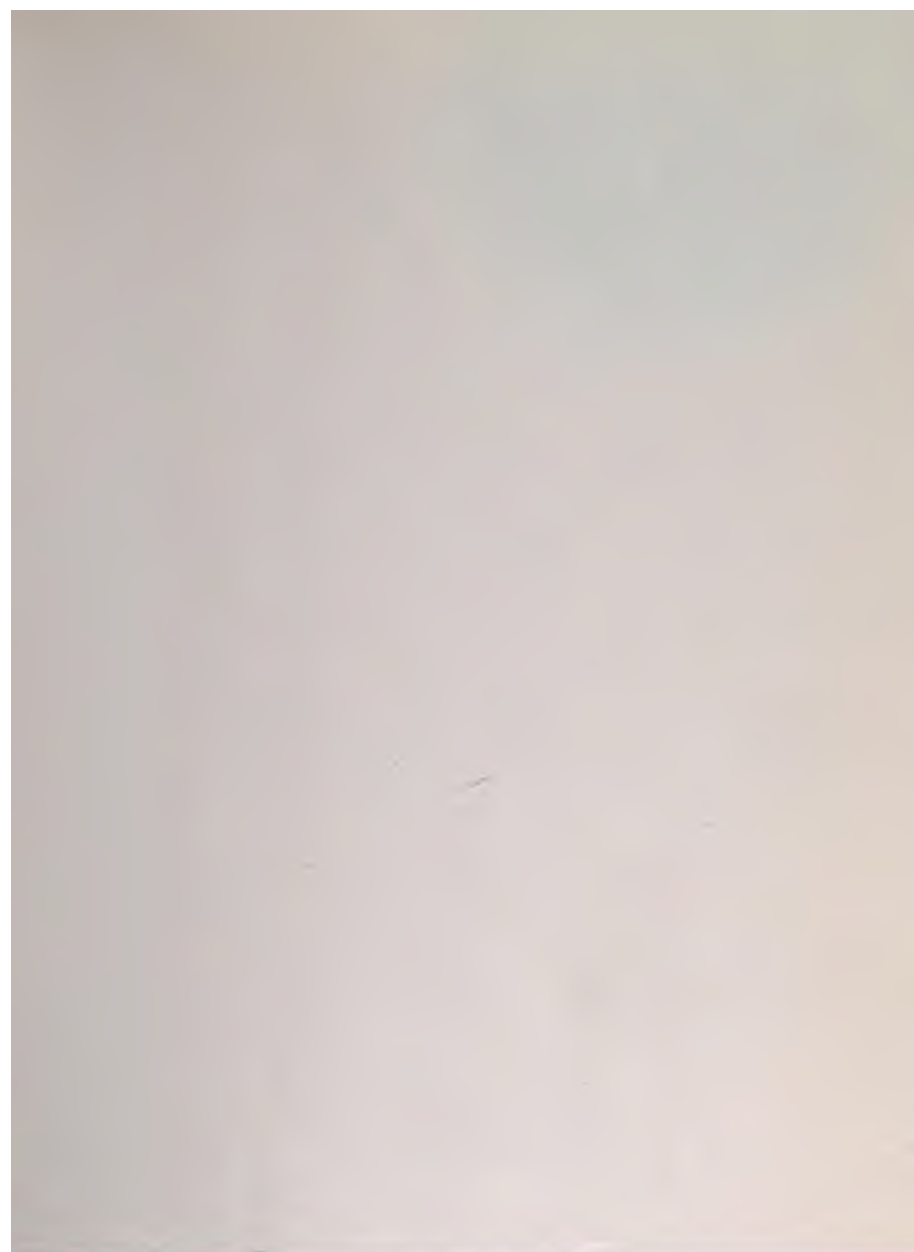
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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
AND ILLUSTRATED BY REMARKS,

BY

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LATE OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

PART FOURTH.

COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS
OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.



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P R E F A C E .

THE object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities *Brahmā*, *Vishṇu*, and *Rudra*, and of the goddess *Ambikā*, in the Vedic Hymns and *Brāhmaṇas*, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, and to shew how far, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–53) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the *Rig-veda*, and in the *Atharva-veda*, under the different titles of *Viśvakarman*, *Hiranyagarbha*, and *Prajāpati*, and appears to correspond with the *Brahmā* of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with *Vishṇu* and *Rudra*, while at a subsequent period he came to be regarded in systematic mythology as the first person in the triad of which they formed the second and third members, yet the general idea entertained of his character has been less modified in the course of his history than is the case in regard to the other two deities.

Brahmā was from the beginning considered as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishnu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 156, 162, 193, 226, 230). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.* Two of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to him, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise and of a boar, are in later works transferred to Vishnu (see pp. 23, 29 ff., 374).

The Second Chapter first of all describes the original conception of Vishnu as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 54–83). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun's daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description; but it must be confessed that an obscurity rests over this conception. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishnu; and we might

* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāṇa, in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, No. X. p. 309, and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21.

thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishnu in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 84-101). The Third Section (pp. 101-106) treats of Vishnu as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth Section contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice ; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishnu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas (pp. 107-131). In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 131 ff.) in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishnu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishnu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section, and pp. 377-413 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Kṛishṇa, the two heroes

who came ultimately to be regarded as incarnations of Vishnu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Krishna make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishnu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rig-veda (pp. 252-267), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (267-276), in the Atharva-veda (276-282), in the Brāhmaṇas (282-296), in the Upanishads (297-305), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas which describe some of this god's proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daxa's sacrifice (305-332). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 332-343, to which I refer. Pages 343-356 contain an enquiry into the origin of the Linga worship, though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously

Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṃśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rāma, Kṛiṣṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the main results at which I have arrived in regard to Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R. V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R. V. i. p. xxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shewn that the three steps of Viṣṇu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 55 f.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 332 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 357 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who

are mentioned in the course of the Work as having given me assistance ; and in particular to Professor Aufrecht, whose name recurs perpetually in the following pages, and who has favoured me with the most valuable suggestions and information in respect particularly to the sense of the Vedic texts, which long and careful study has rendered him so competent to interpret.

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ERRATA.

- Page 83, line 8 from the bottom, *for* "A. V. 525, 5," *read* "5, 25, 5."
- „ 130, line 1, and line 5 from the bottom, *for* "sect. 21," *read* "sect. 23."
- „ 224, verse 20, *for* "Devakā," *read* "Devaki."
- „ 240, line 33. The reference (221) should have been placed after the word
"Vishṇu" in the next line.
- „ 252, line 13, *for* "representation," *read* "representations."
- „ 256, line 10, *for* "your," *read* "thy."
- „ 257, line 18, *for* "is celebrated," *read* "is devoutly celebrated by heroes."
- „ 266, line 11 from the bottom, *for* "R. V. x. 126, 1," *read* "R. V. x. 136, 1."
- „ 267, line 22, *for* "Rudrāy adhanur," *read* "Rudrāya dhanur."
- „ 282, line 22, *for* "tsayaitāni," *read* "tasyaitāni."
- „ 283, lines 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, and 34, *for* "asato 'smi," *read* "ato 'smi."
- „ 284, lines 23 and 27, and page 385, lines 3, 7, 11, 15 and 19, *for* "I am
greater than one who does not exist," *read* "I am greater than this."
- „ 300, line 4, *for* "34, 4," *read* "32, 4."
- „ 307, line 7, *for* "48," *read* "44."
- „ 309, line 17, *for* "Gandavas," *read* "Gandharvas."
- „ 310, line 23, *for* "Vibhūṣhaṇa," *read* "Vibhīṣhaṇa."
- „ —, line 8 from the bottom, *for* "Vana-pava," *read* "Vana-parva."
- „ 311, last line. Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, in pp. 278, 279.
- „ 350, line 15, *for* "26," *read* "28."
- „ 394, line 12 from the bottom, *for* "490," *read* "390."
- „ 395, line 14 from the bottom, *for* "sect. x. 40, 44," *read* "sect. 40, 44."
- „ 404, line 10, omit the words, "Araṇya Kāṇḍa."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

PART FOURTH.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

REFERENCE has already been made in the Second Part of this work (pp. 212-216) to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Viṣṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda, with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns, and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later legends and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the Rig-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Purāṇic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, legends in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the repre-

representations given of the most popular divinities became not only at variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṇas themselves.

These successive mutations in Indian mythology need not occasion us any surprise, as they merely afford another exemplification of a process which may be remarked in the history of all nations which have given free scope to thought, to feeling, and to imagination, in matters of religion.

In carrying out the plan just sketched, I shall, first of all, quote the texts in the Vedic hymns which refer to the creation of the world, and to the god Hiraṇyagarbha or Prajāpati; these shall be succeeded (2) by passages from the Brāhmaṇas, and (3) by quotations from Menu, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas having reference to the same subjects.

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Viṣṇu and Rudra, with occasional notices of any other Indian deities whose history it may appear desirable to illustrate.

CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMANAS, AND PURANAS,
ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND
TO THE GOD HIRANYAGARBHA, PRAJAPATI, OR BRAHMA.

SECT. I.—*Texts from the Rig-veda regarding the creation and
Hiranyagarbha.*

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, x. 129.

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.—*Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm na āsīd rajo
no vyoma paro yat | kim āvarivah kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīd
gahanaṁ gabhīram | 2. Na mṛityur āsīd amṛitaṁ na tarhi na rātryā
ahna¹ āsīt praketaḥ | ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād hūnyad
na paraḥ kiñchanāsa | 3. Tama āsīt tamasā gūḷham agre² apraketaṁ
salilaṁ sarvām ā ilam | tuchhyena ābhv apihitaṁ yad āsīt tapasas tad
mahinā 'jāyataikam | 4. Kāmas³ tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ
prathamaṁ yad āsīt | sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratishyā
kavayo manisha | 5. (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) Tīraschīno vitato raśmir eśhām*

¹ The Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 2, 21 f., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us and employs it in support of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *Pradhāna*: *Veda-vāda-vido viprā niyatā Brahma-vādinah | paśhanti vai tam evārtham Pradhāna-pratipādakam | 22. Nāho na rātrir na nabho na dhūmīr nāsīt tamo jyotir ābhūd na vā 'nyat | drotrādi-buddhyānupalabhyam ekam prādhānikam Brahma pumāṁs tadāsīt |* "Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of *Pradhāna*: 22. 'There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, *Brahmā* in the form of *Pradhāna*, the Male, incomprehensible by the ear, or other senses, or by the intellect.' "

² These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 6, of which passage this may be the germ.

³ In the passages which I shall quote from the *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, etc. further on, we shall see that the creative acts of *Prajāpati* are constantly said to have been preceded by desire: so '*kāmayata*, "he desired," etc.

adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt | retodhā āsan mahimāna āsan svadhā avastāt prayatīḥ parastāt | 6. Ko āṅga veda ka iha pravochat kuta ājātā kuta iyaṁ visṛishṭīḥ | arvāg devā asya visarjjanena atha ko veda yata ābabhūva | 7. Iyaṁ visṛishṭīr yata ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na | yo asyādhyazaḥ parama vyoman sa āṅga veda yadi vā na veda |

"There was then neither nonentity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor sky beyond it. What covered [all?] where was the receptacle of each thing? was it water, the deep abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That One breathed calmly, with *svadhā* (nature); there was nothing different from It [that One] or beyond It. 3. Darkness there was; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; the empty⁴ [mass] which was concealed by a husk [or by nothingness] was produced, single, by the power of austerity (or heat). 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the first germ of mind. This the wise, seeking in their heart, have discovered by the intellect to be the bond between nonentity and entity. 5. The ray which shot across these things,—was it above, or was it below? There were productive energies, and mighty powers; Nature (*svadhā*) beneath, and Energy (*prayatī*) above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to its formation; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what source this creation arose and whether [any] one created it or not,⁵—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or He does not know."

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 559-566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his "Pāṇini," pp. 144 f.

VISVAKARMA, —RIG-VEDA, x. 81 AND 82.

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 17-23).—*Ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad ṛishir hotā nyashidat pitā naḥ | sa āśishā dravinam ichhamāna*

⁴ See Bochtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words *ābhu* and *tuchhya*.

⁵ *Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht.* Bochtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root *dhā* (p. 903).

prathama-chhad avarān āviveśa | 2. *Kiṁ svid āsīd adhishṭhānam āram-
bhanāṁ kathamāt svit kathā 'sit* | *yato bhūmīm janayan Viśvakarmā vi-
dyām aurnod mahinā viśvachakrāḥ* | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) *Viśvataśchazur
uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt* | *sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamatī
sam patatrair dyāvā-bhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ*⁶ | 4. *Kiṁ svid vanaṁ
ka u sa vṛiza āsa yato dyāvā-prithivī nishṭatazuh* | *manishino manasā
prichhatedu tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* | 5. *Yā te
dhāmāni paramāni yā 'vamā yā madhyamā Viśvakarmann utemā* | *śixā
sakhībhyo havishi svadhāvāḥ svayāṁ yajasya tanvaṁ vṛidhānaḥ* | 6. (=S.
V. 2, 939.) *Viśvakarman havishā vāvṛidhānaḥ svayāṁ yajasya prithivīm
uta dyām*⁷ | *muyantu anye abhito janāsa*⁸ | *ihāsmākam maghavā sūrir
astu* | 7. (=Vāj. S. 8, 45.) *Vāchaspatiṁ Viśvakarmānam ātaye manojū-
vām vājo adyā huvema* | *sa no viśvāni havanāni joshad viśvasambhūr
avase sādhekarmā* |

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 25-31).—*Chaxushas pitā manasā
hi dhīro ghrītam*⁹ | *ene ajanad namnamāne* | *yadā id antā adadṛihanta
pūrve ād id dyāvā-prithivī aprathetām* | 2. *Viśvakarmā vīmanā ād
vihāyā dhātā vidhātā paramotā saṁdrik*¹⁰ | *teshām ishṭāni sam ishā
madanti yatrā sapta rishīn para ekam āhuḥ* | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) *Yo
naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā* | *yo devānāṁ
nāmadhā eka eva tam sampraśnam bhuvanā yanti anyā* | 4. *Te āyajanta
draviṇāṁ sam asmai rishayaḥ pūrve jaritāro na bhūnā* | *asūrtto sūrtte
rajasi nishatte ye bhūtāni samakṛiṇvann imāni* | 5. *Paro divā para enā
prithivīyā paro devebhir asurair yad asti* | *kaṁ svid garbham prathamāṁ
dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve* | 6. *Tam id garbham pra-
thamāṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samagachhanta viśve* | *ajasya nābhāv
adhy ekam arpitaṁ yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ* | 7. *Na tam
vidātha ya imā jajāna anyad yushmākam antaram babhūva* | *nihāreṇa
prāvṛitā jalpyā cha asutṛipa ukthasāsas charanti* |

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—“Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated
a sacrifice, offering up all these worlds,—he earnestly desiring sub-
stance, veiling his earliest [form], entered into later [men]. 2. What

⁶ The readings in the A. V. differ a good deal from those of the R. V.

⁷ Instead of *prithivīm uta dyām* the S. V. reads *tanvām svā hi te*.

⁸ Instead of *janāsaḥ* the Vāj. S. reads *sapatnāḥ*.

⁹ Compare R. V. v. 83, 8.

¹⁰ See R. V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.

was the position, what, and of what kind was the beginning, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? 3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth, blows it forth¹¹ with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth? Enquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Grant, Viśvakarman, to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle. Do thou who art rich in oblations, augmenting thyself, worship thyself¹² at the sacrifice. 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, growing by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are against me become fools. May Maghavan [or the opulent god] be here our sage. 7. Let us to-day invoke at our sacrifice the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations."

R. V. x. 82, 1.—"The protector of the eye, wise in mind, generated moisture when these two [worlds] were bowing down. When their eastern ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, pervading, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of vision. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all regions and worlds, who alone assigns to the gods their names,¹³ to him the other worlds go as their refuge(?). 4. The former rishis, his worshippers, who formed these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters¹⁴ contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected. One

¹¹ Compare R. V. x. 72, 2, below.

¹² See Roth S. V. *tanu*, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vi. 11, 2.

¹³ *Nāma cha pitā eva karoti* | Mahīdhara.

¹⁴ Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.

[receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all the worlds stood. 7. Ye know not him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The verses of which they are made up, are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, (xvii. 17-23, and 25-31) in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda; and without any various readings of importance. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Parisīṣṭa, ii. 10. Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, (pp. 141, f.) offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61,¹⁵ is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man); and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The legend here referred to by Professor Roth is given by Yāska, Nirukta, x. 26:

*Tatreṭihāsam āchaxate | Viśvakarmā Bhauvanah sarvamedhe sarvāṇi
bhūtāni juhavāñchakāra sa ātmānam apy antato juhavāñchakara | tad-
abhiśādy eṣhā ṛig bhavati 'ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvat' iti |*

¹⁵ Prajāpatiṃ Viśvakarmā vinuñchatu.

"Here they tell a story: Viśvakarman son of Bhuvana offered up all creatures at an universal sacrifice (*sarvamedha*). He finally offered up himself also. The following verse (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive of this, viz., 'he who offering up all worlds,' etc."

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks thus: "For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, *yathā 'yaja rītubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvaṁ sujāta* | 'As thou (o Agni) at the measured times, o god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.' Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; *svayaṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vridhānaḥ* | 'sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification': the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word *tanū*,¹⁶ and of the construction of the root *yaj*. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: 'He who received all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the 6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: 'Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.' The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession, is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., *tanvāṁ svā hi te*, 'offer thy body, for it is thine,' instead of *prithivīm uta dyām*, 'offer earth and heaven') may be an amendment in support of the legend."

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sukta. See the First Part of this work,

¹⁶ In his remarks on the word *Tanūnapāt* in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes: "The signification has been overlooked, which *tanū* obtains in the older Sanskrit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word *Tanūnapāt* as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word *Tanūnapāt*.

pp. 7, 8. Perhaps both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Puruṣa Sūkta. The author then puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn :

21. *Yadā 'sya nābhyād nalinād aham āsam mahātmanah | nāvindam yajña-sambhārān Puruṣāvayavān ṛito |* 22. *Teshu yajñasya paśavaḥ sa-vanaspatayaḥ kuśāḥ | idaṅcha deva-yajanaṁ kālaśchoru-guṇānvitaḥ |* 23. *Vastāny ośadhayaḥ snehā rasa-loha-mṛido jalam | ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chāturohtraṅcha sattama |* 24. *Nāmadheyāni mantrāścha dāxin-āścha vratāni cha | devatānukramaḥ kalpaḥ saṅkalpas tantram eva cha |* 25. *Gatayo matayaś chaiva prāyaścittam samarpaṇam | Puruṣāvayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhṛitā mayā |* 26. *Iti sambhṛita-sambhārāḥ Puruṣāvayavair aham | tam eva Puruṣam yajñam tenaivāyajam tīsvaram |*

"21. When I was produced," says Brahmā, "from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Puruṣa. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the *kuśa* grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Rich, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the hymns, the gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication, all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Puruṣa. Having thus drawn from the members of Puruṣa all these appliances, I by this means offered up Puruṣa, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice."

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82), as follows : "They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (*rajas*) created those beings furnished to him the material." In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrtta*, not by "still," but by

"distant;" and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

BRAHMANASPATI, DAXA, AND ADITI,—RIG-VEDA, x. 72.

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—*Devānām nu vayam jānā pravochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śaśyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge*¹⁷ | 2. *Brahmanaspatir etā saṁ karmāra*¹⁸ *ivādhamat | devānam pūrve yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata*¹⁹ | 3. *Devānām yuge prathamē asataḥ sad ajāyata | tad āśāḥ anv ajāyanta tad Uttānapadas pari* | 4. *Bhūr jajñe Uttānapado bhuva āśā ajāyanta | Aditer Daxo ajāyata Daxād u Aditiḥ pari* | 5. *Aditir hi ajanishṭa Daxa yā duhitā tava | Tām devā anv ajāyanta bhadrā amṛita-bandhavaḥ* | 6. *Yad devā adaḥ salile*²⁰ *susāmṛadbhāḥ atishṭhata | atra vo nrityatām iva tiro reṇūr apāyata* | 7. *Yad devā*²¹ *yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apin-vata | atra samudre āgūḥam ā sūryam abharttana* | 8. *Ashṭau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa prait saptabhiḥ parā Mārttān-ḍam āsyat*²² | 9. *Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditer upa prait pūryam yugam | prajāyai mṛityave tat punar Mārttāṇḍam ābharat*²³ |

"1. Let us celebrate with praise the births of the gods, in uttered hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this] later age. 2. Brahmanaspati blew forth all these [births] like a blacksmith. In the former age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-

¹⁷ See Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma Veda, under the word *yuga*.

¹⁸ *Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upādhamaty evam udapādayat* | (Sāyaṇa) "As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them." Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 5.

¹⁹ Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—*Bṛihanto nāma te devā ye 'sataḥ pari jāyñire | ekaṁ tad angam Skambhasya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ* | "Great are those gods who sprang from nonentity. Men say that that remote nonentity is one member of Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems to be contrary to the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad. *Tad ha eke āhur "asad evadam agre āsīd ekam evādevitīyaṁ tasmād asatāḥ saj jōyeta"* | *Kutas tu khalu saumya evaṁ sṛjād iti hovācha katham āsataḥ saj jōyeta iti* | (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389, 392.) "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 'But how, gentle friend,' he said, 'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?'"

²⁰ Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.

²¹ This word *yatayah*, "devotees," is applied to the Bhṛigus in R. V. viii. 6, 18. Here Sāyaṇa makes it *meghāḥ*, "clouds."

²² *Parāsyat = upari prāxipat*, "tossed aloft" (Sāyaṇa).

²³ *Abharat = āharat = dyuloke adhārayat*, "placed in the sky" (Sāyaṇa).

existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent. Then the different regions sprang forth from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad; and the regions sprang from the earth. Daxa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came] forth from Daxa. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, o Daxa. After her the gods came into being, beneficent, sharers in immortality. 6. When ye, o gods, stood, strongly agitated, in that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from [persons] dancing. 7. When ye, o gods, like devotees [or strenuous men], replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been hidden in the ocean [or in the sky]. 8. The eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi,—with seven [of these] she approached the gods, but cast away [the eighth] Mārttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached [the gods in?] the former age. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāṇḍa.²⁴

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (*sujoyotishaḥ*) as being the sons or descendants of Daxa (*Daxa-pitrīn*). These notices of Daxa which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the First Part of this work, pp. 25-27. Uttānapāda is said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa to have been a son of Manu Svāyambhuva by Satarūpā (*ibid.* p. 25).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: *Ādityo Daxa ity āhur Āditya-madhye cha stutaḥ | Aditir Dāxāyaṇī | "Aditer Daxo ajāyata Daxād u Aditiḥ pari" iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām ity api vā deva-dharmena itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛitī |* "Daxa is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daxa, [according to the text] *Daxa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi came forth from Daxa*. How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or according to the

²⁴ The word *Mārttāṇḍa* is compounded of two words *mārtta*, apparently derived from *mṛityu*, death, and *anḍa*, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivaṃsa v. 549, thus interprets the word: *Na khalv ayaṃ mṛito 'nḍastha iti snehād abhāshata | aṇḍānūt Kaśyapaḥ tasmād Mārttāṇḍa iti chochyate |* "Kaśyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, 'he is not dead, abiding in the egg;' hence he is called Mārttāṇḍa."

nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another."

Roth, in his *Illustrations of the Nirukta* (p. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: "Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daxa (spiritual force), and from Daxa again Aditi. Yes, Aditi was born, o Daxa, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds to remark: "Daxa, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life."

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn:

"*Ashṭau putrāsaḥ*" *putrā Mitrādayo 'diter bhavanti* | "*Ye Aditau tanvas pari*" *śarirāj "jātāḥ" utpannāḥ* | *Aditer ashṭa-putrā Adh-varyava-brāhmaṇe pariganitāḥ* | *tathā hi* | "*tān anukramishyānt Mitrāścha Varuṇāścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Amśāścha Bhagaścha Vivasvān Ādityāścheti*" | *tathā tatraiva pradeśāntare Aditīm prastutya āmnātam* "*tasyā uchchheshanam adadhus tat prāśnāt* | *sā reto 'dhatte tasyai chateāra Ādityā ajāyanta sā dvitīyam apibad*" *ityādīnā ash-tānām Ādityānām utpattir varṇitā* |

"Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: 'We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Amśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.' In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded: 'They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion],' etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 1, 3, 3 ff.) gives the following explanation of the same (the 8th) verse of this hymn:

Ashṭau ha vai putrā Aditeḥ | *Yāms tv etad "devā Ādityā" ity āchazate sapta ha eva te* | *avikṛitām*²⁵ *ha ashṭamāṁ janayāñchakāra Mārttāṇḍam* | *sandegho*²⁶ *ha evāsa* | *yāvān evordhevas tāvāms tiryak*

²⁵ *Avikṛitam kara-charaṇādi-vikāra iti tad-rahitam* | Comm.

²⁶ *Samyag upachitāḥ sama evāsit* | Comm.

puruṣha-sammita ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. Te u ha ete āhur devā Āditya
"yad asmān anv ajanimā tad amuyeva bhūd | hanta imāṃ vikaravāma"
iti | taṃ vichakrur yathā 'yam puruṣho vikṛitas tasya yāni māṃsāni
saṅkṛitya sannyāsus tato hasti samabharat | tasmād āhur "na hastinam
parigrihṇyāt puruṣhājāno" hi hasti" iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa
Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |

After quoting the text of the Rīg-veda the author of the Brāhmaṇa proceeds :

"Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For she produced the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape, (without hands and feet, etc.) He was smeared all over: of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, 'If in his nature he be not conformable to us, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.' Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified. An elephant sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and threw away. Wherefore men say, 'let no one take (?) an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man. He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended.'"

HIRANYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, x. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—*Hiranyagarbhaḥ*²⁸
*samavarttatāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ*²⁹ *patir eka āsit | sa dādharā prithivīm*
*dyām utemām kasmāi devāya*³⁰ *havishā vidhema | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13:*

²⁷ *Puruṣhūjānaḥ puruṣha-prakṛitikaḥ |* Comm.

²⁸ *Hiranyo hiranya-puruṣha-rūpe brahmāṇḍe garbha-rūpeṇa avasthitaḥ Prajāpatiḥ*
Hiranyagarbhaḥ bhūtasya prāṇijātasya agre samavarttata prāṇijātotpattē purā
svayam śarira-dhārī bābhūva | "Prajāpati Hiranyagarbha, existing as an embryo,
 in the egg of Brahmā, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (*puruṣha*),
 sprang into being before all living creatures—himself took a body before the pro-
 duction of all living creatures." Mahidhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4.

²⁹ *Jātaḥ.* Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1: R. V. x. 133, 2, *asatrur Indra jāyṇiṣhe*
 "Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;" and R. V. viii. 21, 13. . . . *tvam*
anāpīr Indra januṣhā sanād asi | "Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow."

³⁰ *Kasmāi devāya | Kasmāi Kōya Prajāpataye devāya |* "Kasmāi, 'to whom,' is
 for Kōya, the dative of Ka, the god Prajāpati." Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. *Prajāpatiḥ*
vai Kaḥ tasmāi havishā vidhema | "Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations."
 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 1, 19.

A. V. 4, 2, 1.) *Ya ātmadā baladā yasya viśve upāsate prastishāṃ yasya devāḥ | yasya chhāyā 'mṛitaṃ yasya mṛityuḥ kasmai devāya ityādi |* 2. (Vāj. S. 23, 3: A. V. 4, 2, 2.) *Yāḥ prānato nimishato mahitvā eka id rājā jagato babhūra | ya īśo asya dṛipadaś chatuṣpadaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12: A. V. 4, 2, 5.) *Yasyome himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṃ rasayā³¹ sahāhuḥ | yasyemāḥ pradīto yasya bāhū kasmai ityādi |* 5. (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7: A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) *Yena dyaur upri prithivi cha dṛiḥhā yena svaḥ stabhitaṃ yena nākaḥ | yo antarixo rajan vimānaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 6. *Yān krandasi³² arasā tastabhāno abhy aisetām manasā rejanāno | yatrādhi sūra udito vībhāti kasmai ityādi |* 7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25: A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) *Āpo ha yad bṛihatir viśvam aym garbhāṃ³³ dadhānā janayantir agnim | tato devānāṃ samavartitāsur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 8. (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) *Yas chid āpo mahind paryapaśyad dazam dadhānā janayantir yañnam | yo devasvo adhi dwe eka āsit kasmai ityādi |* 9. (=Vāj. S. 12, 102.) *Mā no hiṃsej jemit yaḥ prithirya yo tā divaṃ satyadharmā jajāna | yas ohāpaś chandri bṛihatir jajāna kasmai³⁴ ityādi |* 10. (=Vāj. S. 10, 20: A. V. 7, 79, 4; 7, 80, 3: Nir. x. 43.) *Prajāpato na trad etāny anyo viśvā jātāni pari tā babhūra | yatkāmās te juhūmas tan no astu rayāṃ syāma pāṇay rayinām |*

"1. Hiranyagarbha arose in the beginning; he was the one born lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who

³¹ On the word *rasā*, see the Second Part of this work, pp. 357 and 494.

³² *Krandasi* | "This word is explained in Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

³³ Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3; x. 82, 5, 6; and x. 72, 6.

³⁴ I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Maṇḍala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of *kasmai* the 168th hymn has *tasmai*. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . *kva vṛj jātāḥ kva ābabhūru |* 4. *ātmā devānāṃ dhruvanasya garbhō yathāvraśaṃ charati deva ekaḥ | ghaṣṭā id asya spṛicire na rūpaṃ tasmai |* Vātūya haviṣhā vidhema | "Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form: to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations." Compare St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whither it goeth."

gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasā [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom heaven and earth, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (*asu*) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who formed the great and brilliant waters,—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches.”

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahīdhara's Commentary on the former Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotations on verse 7, the commentator refers to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1:

Āpo ha vā idam agre salīlam evāsa | “This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;” and explains the words *garbhaṁ dadhānāḥ*, “containing a germ,” thus: *tathā garbhaṁ Hiranyagarbha-lakṣaṇaṁ dadhānāḥ dhārayantyaḥ ata eva agnim janayantiḥ agni-rūpam Hiranyagarbhaṁ janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ* | “And also containing an embryo (*garbha*) distinguished as the golden embryo (*Hiranyagarbha*); and consequently generating (being about to produce) fire,—*Hiranyagarbha* in the form of fire.” The Atharva-veda reads this

*brahma vidus te viduḥ parameshṭhinam | yo veda parameshṭhinam
yaścha reda Prajāpatim | jyeshṭham ye brāhmaṇam vidus te Skambham
anusamriduḥ | 24. Yatra dorā brahmarido brahma jyeshṭham upā-
sato | yo vai tān ridyāt pratyazaṁ sa brahmā veditū syāt | 32.
Yasya bhūmiḥ pramā antarizam utodaram | divaṁ yaś chakre mūrdhānaṁ
tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmanē namaḥ | 35. Skambho dādḥāra dyā-
vā-prithivī ubhe ime Skambho dādḥārora antarizam | Skambho dādḥāra
pradiśaḥ śhaḍ urvī(?) Skambha idaṁ viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa | 36. Yaḥ
śramāt tapaso jāto lokān sarvān samānase | somaṁ yaś chakre kevalaṁ
tasmai jyeshṭhāya brahmanē namaḥ | 41. Yo vetasaṁ³⁵ hiranyayam
tishṭhantam salile veda | sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |*

A. V. x. 8, 2.—*Skambheneme viśṭabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tish-
ṭhataḥ | Skambha idaṁ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇad nimishachcha yat |
. . . . 11. Yad ejati patati yachcha tishṭhati prāṇad aprāṇan nimishach-
cha yad bhutāt | tad dādḥāra prithivīm viśvarūpaṁ tat sambhūya bhavaty
ekam eva | 44. Akāmo dhīro amṛitaḥ svayambhū rasena tripto
na kutaschanonaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānaṁ dhīram
ejaraṁ yuvānam |*

A. V. x. 7, 7.—“Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom
Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far
did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle universe,
comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created; and how much
of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha
penetrate the past? and how much of the future is contained in his
receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member
which he separated into a thousand parts? 17. Those
men who know Brahma (the divine Being?) in the Male (*Puruṣa*),
know him who occupies the highest place (*Parameshṭhin*): he
who knows *Parameshṭhin*, and who knows *Prajāpati*,—they who
know the ancient *Brāhmaṇa* (Deity?), they know *Skambha*.
. 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of Brahma,
reverence the ancient Brahma,—that priest (*brahmā*) who knows them
clearly, is the knower. 32. Reverence to that eldest Brahma,
of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who

³⁵ I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense
which is assigned to the word *vetasa* in R. V. x. 95, 4, 5; *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa*,
vi 5. 1, 1; and *Nir.* iii. 21.

made the sky his head. 35. Skamba established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that eldest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from devotion, has pervaded all the worlds, who made Soma for himself alone. 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

A. V. x. 8, 2.—"These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. 11. Whatever moves, falls, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—all this, comprehending every form, sustains the earth; gathering together, that becomes one only. 44. Knowing him, the Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, satisfied with enjoyment, wanting in nothing,—a man is not afraid of death."

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rīgveda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Propper," whose personification may have been suggested by the function of "supporting" the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, and Savitṛi.

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge.

SECT. II.—*Creation; primeval waters; mundane egg, Prajāpati, etc., according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, etc.*

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—*Asad vā idam agre āsīt | tad āhuḥ 'kiṃ tad asad āsīt' iti | rishayo vāva te 'agre 'sad āsīt' tad āhuḥ | 'ke te rishaya' iti | prāṇā vā rishayas te*

gat purā 'smāt sarcasmād idam icchantaḥ śramena tapasā 'rishāṁś tas-
mād rishayaḥ | 2. Sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇa esha etendraḥ | tān esha
prāṇān madhyata indriyena indha | yad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ | Indho
ha vai tam Indra ity āchazate paroṣam | paroṣa-kāmā hi derās te iddhāḥ
sapta nānā puruṣhān asrijanta | 3. Te 'bratan "na vā ittham santaḥ
śasyāmaḥ prajāyayitum imān sapta puruṣhān | ekam puruṣhaṁ kar-
madma" iti te etān sapta puruṣhān ekam puruṣham akurvan | yad
arddhvaṁ nābhes tau drau samaubjan | yad avāṇ nābhes tau dvau |
pazaḥ puruṣhaḥ | pazaḥ puruṣhaḥ | pratishṭhā eka āsit | 5. Sa
eva puruṣhaḥ Prajāpatir abharad ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniś³⁶ chīyate |
6. Sa vai sapta-puruṣo bhavati | sapta-puruṣo hy ayam puruṣo yach
chātvarā ātmā trayāḥ paza-pucchāni | chatvāro hi tasya puruṣhasya ātmā
trayaḥ paza-pucchāni | atha yad ekena puruṣheṇa ātmānam vaddhayati
tatsa vīryeṇa ayam ātmā para-pucchāni udyachhati | 8. So
'yam puruṣhaḥ Prajāpatir akamayata 'bhūyān syām prajāyeya' iti | so
'śrāmyet sa tapo 'tapyata | sa śrāntas tepāno brahmaiva prathamam
asrijata trayim eva vidyām | sairāsmāi pratishṭhā 'bharat tasmād āhur
'brahmāsya sarcasya pratishṭhā' iti | tasmād anūchya pratitishṭhati
pratishṭhā hy esha yad brahma | tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhito
'tapyata | 9. So 'po 'srijata cācha eva lokād vāg evāsya sā 'srijyata
sā idam sarvam āpnot | yad idam kiñcha yad āpnot tasmād āpaḥ³⁷ | yad
asrijot tasmād vāḥ | 10. So 'kamayata 'ābhyo 'dbhyo 'dhi prajāyeya'
iti so 'nayā trayyā vidyayā saha āpaḥ prāviśat tata āṇḍam samavaritāta
tad ābhyamrīśād 'astv' ity 'astu' bhūyo 'stv' ity eva tad abravīt | tato
brahmaiva prathamam asrijyata trayy eva vidyā | tasmād āhur 'brah-
māsya sarcasya prathamajam' ity | api hi tasmāt puruṣhād brahmaiva
pārvam asrijyata tad asya tad mukham eva asrijyata | tasmād anūchānam
āhur 'Agni-kalpa' iti mukham hy etad Agner yad brahma |

"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring this [universe], strove (? *arishan*) with toil and austerity, therefore they are called *Rishis*. 2. This breath which is in the midst

³⁶ Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 27 (pp. 502, 3); ix. 2, 2, 2 (p. 713); vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14.

³⁷ Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3.

is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha Indra imperceptibly: for the gods love that which is imperceptible. They being kindled, created seven separate men (*purusha*). 3. They said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate these seven men; let us make one man.' So speaking, they made these seven men one man (*purusha*). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] man [formed one] side; [another] man [another] side; and one formed the base. 5. This [one] man became Prajāpati. The man who became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven men (*purusha*): for this man is composed of seven men, since four [make] the soul, and three the sides and extremity (*lit.*, tail). For the soul of this man [makes] four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one man, the soul, in consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity [which are only equal to three]. 8. This man (*purusha*) Prajāpati desired, 'may I become more, may I be reproduced.' He toiled, he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he first created the Veda (*brahma*), the triple science. It became to him a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (*brahma*) is the foundation of all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a foundation (?), for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.³⁸ Speech belonged to him. It was created. It obtained (pervaded?) all this. Because it *obtained* (*āpnot*) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (*āpaḥ*); and because it *covered* (*avrinot*), it was called *rāḥ* (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered the waters. Thence an egg arose. He pondered on it (?). He said, 'let there be,' 'let there

³⁸ This is illustrated by a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (617) which says: *vāg vā ōjo vācho vai prajāñ Vīśvakarmā jāyāna* | "Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Vīśvakarman produced creatures." And in the Bṛihad Aranyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | *trayo lokā ete eva* | *vāg evāyañ loko mano 'ntarīra-lokaḥ prāṇo 'sau lokah* | "It is they which are the three worlds. Speech is this" 'd is the aerial world, and breath is that world (the sky.)"

be,' again, 'let there be.' From it the Veda was first created, the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Man, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth."

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven men, occurs again in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1 (p. 767).—*Yān vai tān sapta puruṣhān ekam puruṣham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajā asṛijata | sa prajāḥ sṛiṣṭvā ūrdhva udakrāmat sa etaṁ lokam agachhad yatra eṣa etat tapati | no ha tarhy anya etasmād atra yajñīya āsa tam devā yajñenaiva yashṭum adhriyanta | tasmād etad rishinā 'bhyanūktam 'yajñena yajñam ayajanta devā' ityādi |* "These seven men whom they made one man (*puruṣa*) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where he scorches this. There was then no other object of worship: the gods began to worship him with sacrifices. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods worshipped the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.

II. In the preceding legend, the gods are represented as the creators of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, and the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (pp. 831 ff.).—*Āpo ha vā idam agre salilam evāsa³⁹ | tā akāmayanta 'katham nu prajāyemahi' iti tā āśrāmyāns tās tapo 'tapyanta | tāsū tapas tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍam sambabhūva | ājāto ha tarhi saṁvatsara āsa | tad idaṁ hiraṇmayam āṇḍam yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā tāvat paryaplavata | 2. Tataḥ saṁvatsare puruṣaḥ samabhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | tasmād u saṁvatsare eva stri vā gaur vā vadabā vā vijyate saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir ajāyata |*

³⁹ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—*Tasyōpa eva pratishṭhā | apo hi ime lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |* "Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters." Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (= Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad, p. 974).—*Āpo credam agre āsuh | tā āpaḥ satyam asṛijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Prajāpatir devān |* "In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods."

sa idam hiraṇmayam āndaṁ vyarujat | nāha tarhi kāchana pratishṭhā
 āsa | tad enam idam eva hiraṇmayam āndaṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya telā ūl
 tārad bibhrat paryaplavata⁴⁰ | 3. Sa saṁvatsare vyājīhīrshat | sa 'bhūr'
 iti vyāharat sū iyaṁ prithivī abharat⁴¹ 'bhura' iti tad idam antarizā
 abharat 'svar' iti sū asau dyaur abharat tasmād u saṁvatsare eva kumār
 vyājīhīrshati saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | 6. Sa saha-
 rāyur jajñe | sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyēd evam srasyaśyusheḥ
 pāram parā chakhyau | 7. So 'rchañ chhrāmyaṁs chachūra prajākāmāḥ |
 sa ātmany eva prajātim adhatta sa āsyenaita devān asrijata | te de-
 vā abhipadya asriyanta tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad divam abhipadya
 asriyanta | tasmai sasrijānāya diverāsa⁴² | tad eva devānāṁ devatvaṁ
 yad asmai sasrijānāya diverāsa | 14. Tā vā etāḥ Prajāpatir
 adhi devatāḥ asriyanta Agnir Indrah⁴³ Somaḥ Parameshṭhī prajāpat-
 yah | . . . 18. Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abravīd ityādi |

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a man (*purusha*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered *bhūh*, which became this earth; *bhuvah*, which became this firmament; and *svah*, which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring

⁴⁰ *Tasya Prajāpater āspadāṁ kimapi na babbhūva sa cha nirādhārātāt sthātum āśaknavann ūlāc eva bhūnam hiraṇmayāṇdam punaḥ saṁvatsara-paryantam bibhrād dhārāyau tise cōjasa paryasravat*; "There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters" Comm.

⁴¹ Compare vol. iii. of this work, p. 68, and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 141.

⁴² *Diverāsa* 'akāsa eva babbhūva', Comm.

⁴³ In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned.

offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created by attaining heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (*devāḥ*) that they were creating by attaining heaven (*divam*). To him while he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose(?). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose. 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati, Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin, son of Prajāpati. 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

In the next passage, Prajāpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise :

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (p. 609).—*Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vā rūpaṁ kṛtvā Prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛijata | yad asṛijata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | Kāśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ 'sarvaḥ prajāḥ Kāśyapya' iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo 'sau sa Ādityaḥ |* "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); hence the word *kūrma*. Kāśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of Kāśyapa.' This tortoise is the same as Āditya."

In the later mythology it is Viṣṇu who assumes the form of a tortoise :

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Viṣṇu's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): *Surāsurāṇām udadhīm mathnatām mathanāchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa prishṭhe ekādāse vibhuḥ |* "In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean."

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa 14, 1, 2, 11 (p. 1025) makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "*Iyaty agre āsid* (Vāj. S. 37, 5) *iti | iyati ha vā iyam agre prithivy āsa prādeśa-mātri | tām Emūsha iti varāha*" *ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatis tenaiva enam etan-mithuna priyeṇa dhāmnā*" *samarādhayati kritenaṁ karoti ityādi |*

" 'She (the earth) was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this earth

⁴⁴ See R.V. viii. 66, 10.

⁴⁵ In regard to these words compare Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3, 9, 4, 20.

was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him (the boar?) with love (?) and the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc.

I quote some further texts from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa relative to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, pp. 19, 22).

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 151).—*Prajāpatir ha vā idam agre eka evāsa | sa aizata 'katham nu prajāyeya' iti so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayāñchakre ityādi* | "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth."

In the next passage he is identified with Daxa: ⁴⁶

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1 (p. 173).—*Prajāpatir ha vā eten-agre yajñeneje prajākāmo 'bahuh prajāyā paśubhiḥ syām śriyām gachhayaṁ yaśaḥ syām annādaḥ syām' iti | sa vai Daxo nāma ityādi* | "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daxa."

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14 (p. 565) Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Vishṇu): *Prajāpatir vai bharataḥ sa hidaṁ sarvam bibhartī* | "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe." ⁴⁷

Compare the first verse of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, where Brahṁā is called the preserver of the world (*bhuvanasya goptā*).

In the next passage Prajāpati is represented as desirous, not to create, but to conquer, the worlds:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 977).—*Prajāpatir akāmayata*

⁴⁶ See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above pp. 10, 11).

⁴⁷ In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet *Bharata* is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, *esha prāṇo bhūtvā prajā bibhartī tasmād esha bharataḥ* | "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."

~~— tatāṁ~~ lokān abhijayeyaṁ devalokaṅcha manushya-lokaṅcha' ityādi |
~~—~~ Prajāpati desired, 'may I conquer both worlds,' that of the gods, and
~~—~~ that of men," etc.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 6, 1 (p. 997) Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is introduced: *Puruṣo ha Nārāyaṇo 'kūmayata 'atitishṭheyaṁ sarvāni bhūtāni aham eva idaṁ sarvaṁ syām' iti | sa etam puruṣa-medham pañcā-rātraṁ yajñakratum apaśyat tam āharat tena ayajata tena ishṭvā 'atyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvaṁ abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvaṁ bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān puruṣa-medhena yajate yo vā etad evaṁ veda |*

"Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa desired, 'may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?' He beheld this form of sacrifice called *puruṣa medha* (human sacrifice) lasting five nights (?). He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the *puruṣa medha*,—he who so knows this." The Puruṣa-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 1 (p. 838) Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: *Brahma vā idam agre āsit | tad devān asṛijata | tad devān sṛishṭvā eshu lokeṣu vydroyahyaḥ asminn eva loke 'gnīm Vāyūm antarixhe divy eva sūryam |* "In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Sūrya in the sky."

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1 (p. 1000) Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: *Brahma vai svayambhu tapo 'tapyata | tad aizata 'na vai tapasy ānantyam asti hanta aham bhūteshu ātmānaṁ juhavāni bhūtāni cha ātmani' iti | tat sarveshu bhūteshu ātmānaṁ hūtvā bhūtāni cha ātmani sarveshāṁ bhūtānāṁ śraishṭhyaṁ svārājyaṁ ādhipatyam paryait | tathaira etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedhe sarvān medhān hūtvā sarvāni bhūtāni śraishṭhyaṁ svārājyaṁ ādhipatyam paryeti |* "The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, 'in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.' Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91),

Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the *śarvamedha* (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion.⁴⁸

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on the passages of the *Śātipatha Brāhmaṇa*, given above (pp. 19, 21, 22), or some other ancient source of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines :

Āsīd idam tamobhūtam aprajñātam alaxaṇam | apratarkyam avijñeyam prasuptam iva sarvataḥ | 6. Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān avyakto vyañjāyann idam | mahābhūtādi vṛttanijāḥ prādurāsīt tamonudaḥ | 7. Yo 'sāv atīndriya-grāhyaḥ sūxmo 'vyaktaḥ sanātanaḥ | sarva-bhūtamayo 'chintyaḥ sa eva svayam udbabhau | 8. So 'bhidyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛixur vivīdhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasarijjādu tāsu vijam avāśrijat | 9. Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimaṁ sahasrāṁśu-samaprabham | tasmīn jāñe svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | tā yad asyāyanam pūrvaṁ tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smrītaḥ | 11. Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṁ nityaṁ sadasadātmakam | tad-visṛīṣṭaḥ sa puruṣo loke Brahmaṇi kīrtiyate | 12. Tasmīn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivat-saram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā | 13. tābhyāṁ sa śakalābhyāñcha divam bhūmīñcha nirmame ityādi |

5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undistinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtile, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He desiring to produce various creatures from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā,⁴⁹ the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārā*, because they are the offspring of Nara; and

⁴⁸ See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 7-9).

⁴⁹ Or, in which Brahmā himself was born, etc.

since they were formerly his receptacle, he is therefore called *Nārāyaṇa*. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (*puruṣa*) is known in the world as *Brahmā*. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters."

It will be observed from verses 9-11, that the appellation *Nārāyaṇa* is applied to *Brahmā*, and that no mention is made of *Vishṇu*.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: '*Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimam*' *iti | tad vijam Paramēṣṭarechhayā haiman aṇḍam abhavad haimam iva haimaṁ buddhi-guṇa-yogād na tu haimam eva | tadīyaika-śakalena bhūmi-nirmāṇasya vaxyamānatvād bhūmeṣchāhaimatvasya pratyaxatvād upa-ohārāśrayaṇam | tasminn aṇḍe Hiranyagarbho jātavān yena pūrva-janmani 'Hiranyagarbho 'ham aham' iti bhedābheda-bhāvanayā Paramēṣṭaropāśanā kṛitā tadīyaṁ līṅga-śarīrātvachhinna-jīvam anupra-vītya svayam Paramātmāiva Hiranyagarbha-rūpatayā prādurbhūtaḥ |* "That [seed] became a golden egg,' etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, *i.e.* as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here employed. In that egg *Hiranyagarbha* was produced; *i.e.* entering into the soul,—which was invested with a subtle body,—of that person by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with a contemplation on distinctness and identity, expressed in the words, 'I am *Hiranyagarbha*,' the supreme spirit himself became manifested in the form of *Hiranyagarbha*."

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the *Harivamśa*, vv. 35 ff.: *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān sisṛixur cividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasarpjā-ḍau tāsu vijam avāṣijāt | āpo nāra iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | ayanam tasya tāḥ pūrvaṁ tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | hiranyavarṇam abhacat tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | tatra jajñe svayam Brahmā svayambhūr iti naḥ śrutam | Hiranyagarbho bhagavān uśhītvā parivatsaram | tad*

*aṇḍam akarod dvaidhaṁ divam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayoḥ
madhye ākāśam asrijat prabhuh | apsu pāriplavām prithvīm dīśāścha
daśadhā dadho |*

"Then the self-existent lord, desiring to produce various creatures, first of all formed the waters, and deposited in them a seed. The waters are called *nārā*, for they are the offspring of Nara. They were formerly his receptacle; hence he is called *nārāyaṇa*. That seed became a golden-coloured egg, reposing on the water: in it the self-existent Brahmā himself was born, [or, in it he himself was born as the self-existent Brahmā], as we have heard. The divine Hiranyagarbha having dwelt [in the egg] a year, divided it into two parts, heaven and earth. In the midst between these two shells, the Lord created the æther, and the earth floating about on the waters, and placed the regions in ten directions."

In a later part of the same work we find another account of the production of Hiranyagarbha:

Harivaṁśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—*Jagat-srashtu-manū devaś chintayāmāsa
pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niḥsṛitaḥ puruṣaḥ kila | tataḥ sa
puruṣo devaṁ kiṁ karomīty upashthitaḥ | pratyuvācha smitaṁ kṛtvā
deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | 'vibhajātmānam' ityuktvā gato 'ntardhānam
īśvaraḥ | antarhitasya devasya saśarīrasya bhāscataḥ | pradīpasyeva
śāntasya gatis tasya na vidyate | tatas teneritāṁ cāṇīm so 'nvachintayata
prabhuh | "Hiranyagarbho bhagavān ya esha chhandasā stutaḥ | ekaḥ
prajāpatiḥ pūrvam abhavad bhuvanādhipaḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti tasyādyo
yajña-bhāgo vidhiyate | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktas tenāsmi sumahāt-
manā | katham ātmā vibhajyaḥ syāt saṁśayo hy atra me mahān" |*

"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (*puruṣa*) issued from his mouth. This man then approached [or adored] the deity, [saying] 'what am I to do?' The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, 'divide thyself.' Having thus spoken the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: 'This divine Hiranyagarbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. Divide thyself,—thus have I been

commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.'” Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 10, to which I refer.

The Rāmāyaṇa, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore edition), thus describes the origin of the world :

Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—*Imām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt prithivī yatra nirmītā* | *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha* | 4. *Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām* | *aṣṭijachcha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmanibhiḥ* | 5. *Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sañjajñe Marīcheḥ Kāśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Vivasvān Kāśyapāj jajñe Manur Vivasvataḥ smṛitaḥ* | *sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrvam ityādi* |

Vaśishta says, “Lord of the world, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*. 4. He then, becoming a boar,⁶⁰ raised up the earth, and created the whole world *with the saints, his sons*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the æther; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kāśyapa. 6. From Kāśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati,” etc.

It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the *Gauḍa* recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Viṣṇu; and this I regard as a proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Schlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations, the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—*Imām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt vasudhā yena nirmītā* | *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Viṣṇur avyayaḥ* | 4. *Sa varāho*

⁶⁰ Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 23.

'*tha bhūtvomām ujjahāra rasundharām | asṛjachcha jagat sarvām sacharācharam aryayam |* 5. *Ākāśa-prabharo Brahmā śāśvato nityam aryayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ sañjajāne Maricheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ |* 6. *Tataḥ paryāya-sargena Vivasrān asṛjād Manuṃ ityādi |*

"Lord of the world, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, through which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṇu*. 4. He then, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world, *moveable and immoveable, imperishable*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the æther; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. By successive creation, Vivasvat created Manu," etc.

It will be noticed that at the end of the 3rd śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz., *Brahmā svayambhūr dairataiḥ saha*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*," is, in the second, changed into *Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur aryayaḥ*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṇu*," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel's recension, at the close of the 4th śloka, viz., *saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ*, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into *sacharācharam aryayam*, "moveable and immoveable, and imperishable"—epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is. Compare with the 5th verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel's text), the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff.; and i. 7, 26, quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 25, 26. The accounts of Brahmā's descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 15 and 25 of Part First.

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahma, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show

how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, to Brahmā, is in works of a later date, represented as the act of Viṣṇu. The first passage is from the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Viṣṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: *Dvītyaṁ tu bhavāyāsyā rasā-tala-gatām mahīm | uddharishyann upādatta yajñesaḥ saukaraṁ vapuḥ* | “Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar.”

The second passage to be adduced, is from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 27 ff. of Wilson’s English trans.), and has been already partly quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 19, 20 :

Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyo 'sau kalpādaḥ bhagavān yathā | sasarija sarva-bhūtāni tad ācharva mahāmune⁵¹ | Parāśara uvācha | prajāḥ sasarija bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakeḥ | prajāpati-patir devo yathā tan me nīśāmaya | atīta-kalpāvasāne nīśa-suptotthitāḥ prabhuḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avaiṣata | Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ pareshaṁ api sa prabhuḥ | Brahma-svarupī bhagavān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | toyāntaḥ sa mahīm jñātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhuḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kūmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot sa tanūm anyām kalpādīṣu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādīkām tadvad vārāhaṁ vapur āśthitāḥ | veda-yajñamayāṁ rūpam āśeṣa-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitāḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janaloka-gataiḥ siddhaiḥ Sanakādyair abhishṭutaḥ | praviveśa tada toyam ātmā-dhāro dharādharāḥ | nīrtvya taṁ tadā devī pātāla-talam āgatam | tushṭvā prajātaḥ bhūtvā bhakti-namrā vasundharā | Prithvy uvācha | Namas te

⁵¹ I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 21 of Wilson’s trans.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create;—an answer which if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. *Maitreya uvācha | nirguṇasyāprameyasya śuddhasyāpyamalātmanaḥ | katham sargādī-kartṛtṛtam Brāhmaṇo 'bhyupapadyate | Parāśara uvācha | śaktayaḥ sarva-bhāvānām achintyā [?] jñāna-gocharāḥ | yato 'to Brahmanas tāstu sargādya bhāva-śaktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ śreṣṭha pāvakaṣya yathoshnūtū* | “Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined, are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, o chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahmā, as heat is an attribute of fire.”

*sarva-bhūtāya tubhyaṁ śankha-gadā-dhara | mām uddharāsmād adya tvam
tvatto 'ham pūrvam utthitā | sambhaxayitvā sakalāṁ jagaty
ekārnāvīkṛite | śeṣe tvam eva Govinda chintyamāno manīṣhibhiḥ | bhavato
yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tanna jānāti kaśchana | avatāreshu yad rūpaṁ tat
archanti divaukasaḥ | tvām ārādhya paraṁ Brahma yātā muktīm mu-
muzavaḥ | Vāsudevam anārādhya ko moxaṁ samavāpsyati | tvam
yajñas tvam vashaṭkāras tvam oṃkāras. tvam agnayaḥ | Evaṁ
samstūyamānastu Prithivyā prithivī-dharaḥ | sām-svara-dhvanīḥ śrīmān
jagarjja parighurgharam | tataḥ samutxipyā dharāṁ sa daṁṣhṭrayā
mahāvarāhaḥ sphuṭa-padma-lochanaḥ | rasātālād utpala-patra-sannibhaḥ
samutthito nīla ivāchalo mahān | evaṁ samstūyamānastu Paramātmā
mahīdharah | ujjahāra mahīm xipraṁ nyastavāṁścha mahāmbhasi |
tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur ivā sthitā | vitatatvāt tu dehasya na
mahī yāti samplavam |*

“Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatīs, who was formed of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivaṁśa, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another form, taking the body of a boar consisting of the Vedic sacrifices, as he had before, at the commencement of the [previous] Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. Then Prajāpati, residing in the entire existing universe, the unchanging, supreme, and universal soul, sustainer of soul, and supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, reverential, and prostrated through devotion, sang his praise: ‘Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things: raise me to-day from this place: by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one

ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou takest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? Thou art sacrifice, thou art the *vashatkāra* (a sacrificial formula), thou art the *omkāra*, thou art the fires. Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to different parts of the rite of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 31.] Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk."⁵²

⁵² Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishṇu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the Second Part of this work, pp. 329-332); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: *Athābrevāṇīm animishas tām rishīm sa hitas tada | aham Prajāpatiḥ Brahmā yat-parāṇā nādāḥ gamyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yūyañcha mayā 'smād moksitā bhayāt |* "Then the god (lit. the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish you have been delivered from this danger.'" Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur., (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.), Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: *Ity uktō Vishṇurātēna bhagavān Vādarāyaṇiḥ | uvācha charitāṁ Vishṇor matsya-rūpeṇa yat kṛitām | 'Suka uvācha | 7. āsīt atīta-kalpānte Brāhma naimittiko layaḥ | samudropaplūtās tatra lokā bhūrādāyo nṛipa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya dhātuh śiṣayi-śhor balī | mukhato niḥśritān vedān Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jñātēv tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheshtitam | dadhāra sapharirūpam bhagavān Hariḥ īśvara ityādi |* "Being thus addressed by Vishṇurāta, the divine Vādarāyaṇi related the deed of Vishṇu done by him under the form of a fish. Suka said 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brāhma, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Vish. Pur., pp. 56, and 630); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this act of Hayagrīva, chief of the Dānavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a saphari fish," etc.

The Linga Purāṇa, which is of the Śaiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Viṣṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: *Rātrau chaikārṇave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvāra-jaṅgame | sushvāpāmbhasi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇa iti smṛitaḥ | śarvāry-anto prabuddho vai dṛishṭvā śūnyaṁ charācharam | srasṭum tadā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varah | udakair āple-tām xmām tām samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa vārāhaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ* | "In the night, when all things moveable and immoveable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before."

To return to the mundane egg. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the intermixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sāṅkhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Purāṇas, would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with their philosophical speculations: *Ākāśa-vāyu-tejāṁsi salilam prithivī tathā | śabdādibhir guṇair brahman saṁyuktāny uttarot-taraḥ | śāntā ghorāścha mūdhāścha viśeṣās tena te smṛitāḥ | nānā-vīryyāḥ prithag-bhūtās tatas te saṁhatiṁ vinā | nāśaknuvan prajāḥ srasṭum asaṁāgāmya kritsnaśaḥ | sametyānyonya-saṁyogam paraṣpara-saṁāśrayāḥ | eka-saṅghāta-lazyāścha samprāpyaikyam āśeṣataḥ | Pu-rushādhiṣṭhitatvāchcha Pradhānānugraheṇa cha | mahādādayo viśeṣhāntā aṇḍam utpādayanti te | tat krameṇa vivṛidhhaṁ tu jala-budbuda-vat samam | bhūtebhyo 'ṇḍam mahābuddhe vṛihat tat udake śayam | prākṛi-tam Brahma-rūpasya Viṣṇoḥ saṁsthānam uttamam | tatṛāvyakta-sa-rūpo 'sau vyakta-rūpī jagat-patiḥ | Viṣṇur Brahma-svarūpeṇa śayam eva vyavasthitaḥ | Meru-tulyam abhūt tasya jarāyuścha mahādharaḥ |*

garbhodakam samudrāścha tasyāsan sumahātmanah | sādri-dvīpa-samudrāścha sajjotir loka-sangrahaḥ | tasminn ande 'bhavad vipra sa-devāsura-mānushah | vāri-vahny-anilākāśais tato bhūtādina vahiḥ | vṛtaṁ daśa-gunair andam bhūtādir mahatā tathā | avyaktenāvrīto brahmaṁs taiḥ sareṇaiḥ sahito mahān | ebhir āvaranair andam saptabhiḥ prakṛitair vṛitam | nṛikela-phalasyāntar vījam vāhyadalair iva | jushan rajo-guṇān tatra scayaṁ viśveśvaro Hariḥ | Brahmā bhūtvā 'sya jagato visṛiṣṭan sampravarttate |

"Æther, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying,⁵³ but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, becoming associated with each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and prospered by Pradhāna (matter),—these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishṇu in the form of Brahmā. There undiscernible in his essence, Vishṇu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, o Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, æther, and the source of the elements (*bhūtādi*, i.e. *ahankāra*) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way *ahankāra* was invested by *Mahat*; and *Mahat* with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (*Pradhāna*). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (*rajas*) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world."

⁵³ See Wilson's Sankhya Karikā, pp. 119 ff., and Vishṇu Pur., p. 17.

The Vishnu Purāṇa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc. etc.

The Linga Purāṇa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg: *Mahādādi-riseshāntā hy andam utpādayanti cha | jala-bud-buda-rat tasmāt aratīrṇaḥ Pitāmahaḥ | sa eva bhagavān Rudro Viṣṇuḥ viśvagataḥ prabhūḥ | tasmīn ande te ime lokā enter viśtam idaṁ jagat | andam dāsa-guṇaivā nabhāsā rāhyato rītam | ākāśaḥ chācīritas tadad ahaṅkūreṇa śabda-jah | mahatā śabda-hetur vai pradhānendvītaḥ svayam | sapṭāṇḍācaranāny āhuḥ tasyātmā Kamalāsanaḥ | koṭi-koṭy-ayutāny āsṛ chāṇḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturraktrā Brahmāno Harayo Bhavāḥ | śriṣṭāḥ pradhānena tadā labdhvā Sambhovu sannidhim ityādi |*

“And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parent [of the universe] who was the same as divine Rudra, and Vishnu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally invested with a tenfold æther; in like manner, the æther, sprung from sound, was surrounded by *ahankāra*; the cause of sound (*ahankāra*) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalāsana (Brahmā). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are specified, in which four-faced Brahmās, Haris, and Bhavas (Śivas) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Śambhu (Śiva).

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has the following passage on the same subject in the third Book, in answer to an enquiry how the Prajāpatis created the world :

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—*Maitreya evācha | Daivena durvīṭarkyena pareṇānimishena cha | jātazobhād bhagavato mahān asid guṇa-trayāt |* 13. *Rajaḥ-pradhānād mahatas trilingo daiva-choditāt | jātāḥ sasṛjje bhūtādir viyadūdini panchaśaḥ |* 14. *Tūni chaikaikaśaḥ sraśṭum asaṁarthāni bhautikam | saṁhatya daiva-yogena haimam andam avāsṛjan |* 15. *So 'śayishṭbādhī-salile anda-kosho nirātmakaḥ | sāgrām vai varsha-sāhasram anavāṣīt tam īśvaraḥ |* 16. *Tasya nābher abhūt padmām sahasrārkorudidhiti | sarva-jīva-nikāyauko yatra svayam abhūt Svarāt |* 17. *so 'nuviśṭo bhagavatā yaḥ śeto salilāśaye | loka-saṁsthām yathā-pūrvam nirmame saṁsthayā svayā |*

“Maitreya said :

12. “The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualities

agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme, and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny), the source of the elements (*bhūtādi* or *ahankāra*) created the æther and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where *Svarāṭ* (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (*saṁsthā*) of the worlds with his own substance."

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff.: *Etāny asaṁhatya yadā mahad-ādīni sapta vai | kāla-karma-guṇopeto jagadādir upāviśat |* 51. *tatas tenānucid-dhebhyo [zubhitebhyaḥ, Comm.] yuktebhyo 'ṇḍam ahetanam | utthitam Puruṣo yasmād udatishṭhad asau Virāṭ |* 52. *Etad aṇḍam viśeshākhyam krama-vṛiddhair daśottaraiḥ | toyādibhiḥ parivṛitam pradhānenāvṛitair vahiḥ | yatra loka-vitāno 'yaṁ rūpam bhagavato Hareḥ |* 53. *hiraṇ-mayād aṇḍa-koshād utthāya salile śayāt | tam āviśya mahādevo bahudhā nirbībheda kham [chhidram, Comm.]* 54. *nirabhidyatāsyā prathamam mukhaṁ vānī tato 'bhavad ityādi |*

50. "When these seven principles, *Mahat* and the rest, remained uncombined, the [god who is the] source of the universe entered into them, united with time, action, and the qualities. 51. Then out of these principles penetrated by him, and combined, there arose a lifeless egg, from which sprang Puruṣa, viz., that Virāṭ. 52. This egg, named *Viśeṣha* (the *specific*) was surrounded by water, and other elements gradually increasing in extent by a tenfold progression, which in their turn were externally invested by *Pradhāna*. In this egg [was formed] this expanse of worlds, which is the form of the divine Hari. 53. Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures. 54. First his mouth was divided, from which speech issued," etc.

The same process is also described in the second book of the same

Purāṇa, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a verse or two of the passage.

34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jīvam ajīcayāt |* 35. *sa eva puruṣas tasmād aṇḍam nirbhīdya nirgataḥ | sahasrore-anghri-bāhe-azax sahasrānana-śirshavān |*

34. "At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the water. 35. Splitting the egg, Puruṣa issued forth with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads."

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: *Puruṣo 'ṇḍam vinirbhīdya yadādaḥ sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichhann apo 'srāzich chhuchiḥ śuchiḥ | tāsū avātsit svasṛiṣṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāmas yad āpaḥ puruṣodbhavāḥ |*

10. "When, splitting the egg, Puruṣa first issued from it, seeking a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure. 11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Puruṣa."

The story about the sexual intercourse of Brahmā with his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purāṇas, is thus noticed in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4, 1 ff.—*Prajāpatir ha vai svām duhitaram abhidadhyau divaṁ vā ushasāṁ vā 'mithunā enayā syām' iti tāṁ sambabhūva |* 2. *Tad vai devānām āga āsa 'ya itthaṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti' iti |* 3. *Te ha devā ūchur 'yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īṣṭe 'tisandhaṁ vā ayaṁ charati ya itthaṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti vidhyemam' iti | tāṁ Rudro 'bhyāyatya vivyādha tasya sāmī retaḥ prachaskanda tathā id nūnaṁ tad āsa |* 4. *Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktam 'pitā yat svām duhitaram adhiṣṭkan zmayā retaḥ sañjagmāno nishiñchad' iti tad āgni-mārutam ity ukthaṁ tasmīns tad vyākhyāyate yathā tad devā retaḥ prajānayan | teshāṁ yadā devānām krodho vyaid atha Prajāpatim abhishajyaṁs tasya tāṁ śalpaṁ nirakṛintan | sa vai yajña eva Prajāpatiḥ |*

"Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] 'May I pair with her.' So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said: '[He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.' 3. The gods said: 'This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.' Rudra assailed (?) and pierced him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 3. Accordingly this has been said by the ṛishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), 'when the father approaching his daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed,' etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow (?). Prajāpati is sacrifice."

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred to in the preceding legend. It is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyana's Comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The commentator regards verses 5-7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:" (*Yathā scāmśēna bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asrijat tad etad-ādibhir tisribhir vadati.*)

R. V. x. 61, 4: *Krishnā yad goshu arunīshu sīdāt divo napāta Aśvinā huve vām | vītam me yajñam āgatam me annam vacanvāmsā na isham asmrīta dhrū |* 5. *Prathishṭa yasya virakarmam ishṇad anushṭhitam nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad avṛihati yat kanāyā duhitur ā anubhṛitam anarvā |* 6. *Madhyā yat kartvam abhavad abhike kāmam kṛinvāne pītari yuvatyām | manānag reto jahatur viyantā sānau nishikṭam sukṛitasya yonau |* 7. *Pitā yat svām duhitaram adhishkan xmayā retah sañjagmāno nishīñchat | svādhyo ajanayan brahma devā vāstoshpatiṁ vratapām nira-taran |*

"When the night stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the sky. Come to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, desiring it as food, ye who do not disappoint my longings.⁵⁴ 5. That friend of men, whose prolific, hero-generating

⁵⁴ Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to *asmrīta-dhrū*. Sāyana renders it, *asmrīta-droḥau mayi droham asmarantau* | "not forgetting injury—not forgetting injury to me."

[seed] was diffused, disseminated it far and wide, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] expands that [germ] which had been fostered in [the womb of] his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] that which was to be done by contact in the midst, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—approaching each other, they discharged a little seed, which was shed on the surface of the place of sacrifice. 7. When the father, impregnating his own daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed, the contemplative gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites."

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: *Vāchaṁ duhitarāṁ tanvīm Svayambhūr haratīm manaḥ | akāmāṁ chakame xattāḥ sakāma iti naḥ śrutam | 29. tam adharme kṛita-matim vilokya pitaraṁ sutāḥ | Marīchi-mukhyā munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan | 30. Naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas tvaṁ duhitarāṁ gachher anigrihyāṅgajam prabhuḥ | 31. tejīyasām api hy etad na suślokyāṁ jagadguro | yad vṛittam anutishṭhan vai lokāḥ zemāya kalpatē | 32. tasmai naṁo bhagavate ya idaṁ svena rochishā | ātmasthaṁ vyañjayāmāsa sa dharmam pātum arhati | 33. Sa itthaṁ grīṇataḥ putrān puro dṛishṭvā prajāpatiṁ | prajāpati-patis tanvaṁ tatyāja vṛīḍitas tadā | tāṁ diśo jagrihur ghorāṁ nihāraṁ yad vidus tamaḥ |*

"We have heard, o Kshattriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: 'This has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, o preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishṇu) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.' Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness."

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the

passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): *dvidhā kṛtvā "tmano dehaṁ arddhena puruṣo 'bhavat | arddhena nārī tasyām sa Vīrājam asṛijat prabhuḥ* | "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)⁵⁵ Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the First Part of this work, p. 25.⁵⁶ On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Mandala of the Rīg-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the 3rd Vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332-337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Kṛishṇa, are described.—See the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 150, the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff. Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff., Schlegel's ed.; and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the First Part of this work, pp. 70, 165 (with Note 9), and 166. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.⁵⁷ In the case of Kṛishṇa the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded

⁵⁵ *Maithuna-dharmena Vīrūt-sañjñam puruṣam nirmītavān* |

⁵⁶ "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with S'atarūpā; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: *Veda-rāsīḥ smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhitā | tas-māna kṛśchid doṣhaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ* |"—Wilson's Viṣṇu Pur. p. 53, note.

⁵⁷ Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 529 f.

among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

Bhāg. Pur., x. 33, 27 ff.—*Rājā uvācha | saṁsthāpanāya dharmasya prasamāyetaṛasya cha | avatīrno hi bhavagān aṁsena jagadīśvaraḥ | 28. Sa katham dharma-setūnām vaktā karttā 'bhiraxitā | pratipam āchareḥ brahman paradārābhimarśanam | 29. Āptakamo Yadu-patiḥ kṛitarāṇ vai jugupsitam | kimabhiprāya etaṁ naḥ saṁsayāṁ chhindhi sverata | Śrī-Suka uvācha | 30. Dharma-ryatikramo dṛiṣṭa īśvarāṇāṁ sāhasam | tejiyasām na doṣhāya vahnēḥ sarvabhūjo yathā | 31. Naitat samāchareḥ jātu manasā 'pi hy anīśvaraḥ | vinasaty ācharan maudhyād yathā 'rudro 'bdhijāṁ viṣham | 32. Īśvarāṇāṁ vacaḥ satyaṁ tathāivāchakṛitāṁ kvachit | teshāṁ yat sva-vacho yuktam buddhimāṁs tat samācharet | 33. Kuśālācharitenaishām iha svārtho na vidyate | viparyayaṇa eva 'nartho nirahankāriṇām prabho | 34. Kīmutākhilā-sattvānāṁ tiryak-marttya-divaukasām | īṣitūś cheṣitavyānāṁ kuśālākuśālānvayaḥ | 35. Yat pāda-pankaja-parāga-niṣheva-triptā yoga-prabhāva-vidhūtākhilā-karmabandhāḥ | svairāṁ charanti munayo 'pi na nahyamānās tasyechhayā 'ttavapushaḥ kuta eva bandhāḥ | 36. Gopīnāṁ tat-patīnāṁcha sarveṣhām eva dehināṁ | yo 'ntaś charati so 'dhyaxaḥ kṛīḍaneneha deha-bhāk | 37. Anugrahāya bhūtānāṁ mānuṣhāṁ deham āśritāḥ | bhajate tādrīṣṭh kṛīḍāḥ yāḥ śrutvā tat-paro bhavet | 38. Nāsūyan khalu Kṛishṇāya mohitās tasya māyayā | manyamānāḥ sva-parśvasthān svān svān dārān Vrajaukasāḥ | 39. Brahma-rāttre upāvrīte Vāsudevānumoditāḥ | anīchhantyo yayur gopyaḥ sva-grīhān bhagavat-priyāḥ⁶⁸ |*

"The king said : 27. The divine lord of the world became partially incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men's wives ? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Krishna) perpetrate what was blameable ? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Suka said : 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to

⁶⁸ This passage is partly quoted in my *Mata-parīkṣhā*, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87 ; and in Prof. Banerjea's *Dialogues*, p. 383 f.

fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: any one who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.⁵⁹ 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, o king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, why should there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the *gopīs* (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their superintendent, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he practises sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Krishna, since, deluded by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the *gopīs*, beloved and gladdened by Krishna, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Krishna's sports with the cowherds' wives, or who repeats it to others, shall attain strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart.

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Śrīdhara Svāmīn, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. *Parameśvare kaimulika-nyāyena parihartuṃ sāmānyato mahatām vṛttam āha 'dharmavyatikrama' iti | sāha-saūcha dṛṣṭam Prajāpatiṇdra-Soma-Viśvāmītrādinām tachecha teshām*

⁵⁹ This refers to the poison drunk by 'Siva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 45, 26, Ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78.

tejasvināṁ doṣhāya na bhavātīti | 31. *Tarhi 'yad yad ācharati brachtha'* *iti nyāyemūnyo 'pi kuryād ity āsanbhyāḥ 'neitad' iti* | *amīśvare dehādi-* *para-tantro yathā Rudra-ryatirikto viśham ācharan bhavayam* | 32. *Ka-* *thas tarhi sadāchūrasya prāmūnyam ata āha 'īśvarāṇām' iti* | *teṣāṁ* *vachas satyam atas tad-uktam ācharoḥ eva* | *āchariteṣā brachit satyam* *ataḥ 'eva-racho yuktaṁ' teṣāṁ vachasā yad uktam ariruddhaṁ tat tad* *ocācharet* | 33. *Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim ecam oāhasan ācharenti tatrāḥ* *'kusale'ti* | *prārabdha-karma-rapana-mātram eva teṣāṁ kṛityaṁ na an-* *yad ity arthaḥ* | 34. *Prastutam āha 'kimuta' iti* | *kusalākusalānayo* *na vidyate iti kim punar vaktaryam ity arthaḥ* | 35. *Etaḥ eva sphuṣṭi-* *karoti* | *yasya pāda-pankaja-parāgasya nishereṇa triptā yadrā yasya* *pāda-pankaja-parāge nishetā yeshāṁ te tathā te cha te triptāścha iti* *bhaktā ity arthaḥ* | *tathā jñāninaś cha na nakyamānā bandhanam aprap-* *nucantaḥ* | *para-dāratraṁ gopinām angikṛitya pariḥṛitam* | 36. *Idānim* *bhagavataḥ sarrantaryāmināḥ para-dāra-erā nāma na kāchid ity āha* *'gopinām' iti* | *yo 'ntas charaty adhyazo buddhy-ādi-sāsti sa eva kṛiḍe-* *nena dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doṣhaḥ syād iti* | 37. *Nano* *ecam ched āptakāmasya nindite kutaḥ prarṇittir ity āha 'anugrahāya'* *iti* | *śringāra-rasākriṣṭa-chetaso'ti-bahir-mukhān api eva-parān karttum* *iti bhāraḥ* | 38. *Nano anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ eva-cheshṭitam ecam eva iti* *vadanī tatrāha 'nāsūyann' iti* | *evambhūtaiśvareyaḥ tathā kurantaḥ* *pāpā jñeyā iti bhāraḥ* |

"In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the *à fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed,' etc., i.e. of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvā-mitra, and others; and it is not to be charged to them as a fault. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning 'whatever an eminent person does,'⁶⁰ etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says 'Let no one do the same,' etc.; 'no one other than a superior being,' i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; 'as anyone separate from Rudra using,' swallowing 'poison.' 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, 'of superior beings,' etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is sometimes true [cor-

⁶⁰ This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.

rect]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question whether these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify the consequences of their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet;' or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees;' further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The fact that the *gopis* were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the *gopis*,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to *other men's* wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within,' the superintendent, the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. He now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.⁶¹ 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners."

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Krishna, and is perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with

⁶¹ I find this sense of the word *bahirmukha* in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

himself), had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahṁā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 40):

Bhāgavad Gītā, iii. 20 ff.—*Karmaṇaiva hi saṁsiddham āsthitā Janakādyaḥ | loka-saṅgraham evāpi sampāśyan karttum arhasi | 21. Yad yad ācharati śreṣṭhas tat tad evetaro janaḥ | sa yat pramāṇam kurute lokas tad anuvarttate | 22. Na me Pārthāsti kartavyaṁ trishu lokeshu kiñchana | nānatāptam atāptavyaṁ vartta eva cha karmaṇi | 23. Yadi hy ahaṁ na vartteyaṁ jātu karmaṇy atandritaḥ | mama varttmānuvarttante manuṣyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ | 24. Utsideyur ime lokā na kuryām karma ched ahaṁ | saṅkarasya cha kartā syām upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ | 25. Saktāḥ karmaṇy avidvāṁso yathā kurvanti Bhārata | kuryād vidvāṁs tathā 'aktaḥ chikīrṣur loka-saṅgraham | 26. Na buddhi-bhedaṁ janayed ajñānām karma-saṅginām | joshayet sarva-karmāni vidvān yuktaḥ samācharan |*

"20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind."²² 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Prithā, which I have to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, o son of Prithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people will be ruined if I do not practise works; and I shall occasion a confusion of castes: I shall destroy these subjects. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a difference of opinion among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind."

I quote here some other interesting legends which I have observed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became

²² Compare Raghuvamśa iii. 46. . . . *pathaḥ śucher darśayitūra īśvarā malīmasām ādādate na paddhatim* | "Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] . . . unclean path."

superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. The first two tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—*Prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛj-
jata | sa ūrddhvebhya eva prāṇebhyo devān⁶³ asṛijata ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇe
tebhyo marttyāḥ prajāḥ | athordhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram
asṛijata | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpater ardham eva marttyam āsīd ardham
amṛitam | tad yad asya marttyam āsīt tena mṛityor abibhet | sa vibhīyad
imām prāviśad dvayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛityur devān
abravīt 'kva nu so 'bhūd yo no 'ṣṛiṣṭa' iti | 'tvad bibhīyad imām prā-
vixad' iti | so 'bravīd 'taṁ vā anvichhāma taṁ sambharāma na vā ahaṁ
taṁ hiṁsishyāmi' iti | taṁ devā asyā adhi samabharan | yad asya ap-
sīt tū apaḥ samabharan atha yad asyāṁ tām mṛidam | tad ubhayaṁ sam-
bhṛitya mṛidañcha āpaścha iṣṭakūm akurvaṁs tasmād etad ubhayaṁ iṣ-
takā bhavati mṛichchāpaścha | 4. Tad etā vā asya tāḥ pañcha martyās
tanva āsan loma tvaṇ mūṁsam asthi majjā atha etā amṛitā mano vāk
prāṇas chakṛuḥ śrotam | 6. Te devā abrucann 'amṛitam
imāṁ karavāma' iti | tasya etābhyām amṛitābhyāṁ tanūbhyām etam
martyām tanūm parigrihya amṛitām akurvaṁs ityādi | 7.
. tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito 'bhavat . . . | . . .*

x. 1, 4, 1.—*Ubhayaṁ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa marttyaṁ chaiva
amṛitañcha | tasya prāṇā evāmṛitā āsuḥ śarīraṁ marttyam | sa etena
karmaṇā etayā ūvṛitā ekadhā 'jaram amṛitam ātmānam akuruta |*

“Prajāpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he created the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the crea-
tures he created Death the devourer. 2. Of this Prajāpati, half was
mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal,
he was afraid of Death. Fearing, he entered this [earth], having be-
come two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, ‘what

⁶³ The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2), as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2 (p. 401): *Aṣṭau Vasava ekūdaśa Rudrā dvādaśādityā ime eva
dyāvā-prthivī trayastriṁśasya | trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatī chatustriṁśaḥ |*
“There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and these [two] heaven and
earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Pra-
jāpati is the thirty-fourth.”

has become of him who created us?' [They answered], 'fearing you, he has entered this earth.' Death said, 'let us search for, and collect him. I will not kill him.' The gods then collected him on this [earth]. The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters, and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth. Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz., earth and water. 4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear 6. The gods said, 'let us make him immortal.' So [saying], having surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it immortal thence Prajāpati became immortal"

x. 1, 4, 1.—"Prajāpati was formerly both of these two things, mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly undecaying and immortal."

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality.

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): *Esha vai mṛityur yat saṁvatsaraḥ | Esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyuh xīnoty atha mriyante tasmād esha eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha etam mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyuh xīnoti sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti |* 2. *Esha evāntakaḥ | esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhaty⁶¹ atha mriyante | tasmād esha evāntakaḥ | sa yo haitam antakaṁ mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti |* 3. *Te devā etasmād antakād mṛityoḥ saṁvatsarāt Prajāpater bībhayān-chakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ na gachhed' iti |* 4. *Te etān yajñakratūṁs tenire 'gnihotraṁ darśa-pūrnamāsau chāturmās-yāni paśubandhaṁ saumyam adhvaram | te etair yajña-kratubhir yajamānā na amṛitatvam ānaśire |* 5. *Te ha apy Agniṁ chikyire | te 'parimitā eva parīrita upadadhur aparimitā yajushmatir aparimitā lokam-prīṇā yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhati iti devā akurvann iti te ha naiva amṛitatvam ānaśire | te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaś cherur amṛitatvam avarurutsamānāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatir uvācha 'na vai me sarvāni rūpāṇy*

⁶¹ *Gachhati-gamayati* | Comm.

upadhattha ati vaiva rechayatha na vā 'bhyāpayatha tasmād na amṛitā bhavatha' iti | 7. *Te ha ūchuḥ* | 'tebhyo vai nas tvam eva tad brūhi ya-
 thā te sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadadhāma' iti | 8. *Sa ha uvācha shashṭīm cha*
trīṇi cha śatāni pariśrita upadhattha shashṭīm cha trīṇi cha śatāni yajush-
matir adhi shaṭ-triṃśatam atha lokamprinā daśa cha sahasrāṇy aṣṭau
cha śatāny upadhattha atha me sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadhāsyatha atha amṛitā
bhavishyatha' iti | *te ha tathā devā upadadhus tato devā amṛitā āsuh* |
 9. *Sa mṛityur devān abravīd 'ittham eva sarve manuṣyā amṛitā bhaviṣh-*
yanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyati' iti | *te ha ūchur 'na ato 'paraḥ*
kaśchana saha śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam harāsi |
atha vyācṛitya śarīreṇa [śarīram vihāya, Comm.] amṛito 'sad yo 'mṛito
'sad vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' iti | *yad vai tad abruvan 'vidyayā vā*
karmaṇā vā' ity eṣhā haiva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u haiva tat karma
yad Agniḥ | 10. *Te ye evam etad vidur ye vaitat karma kurvate mṛiteṇa*
punaḥ sambhavanti | *te sambhavanta eva amṛitateam abhi sambhavanti* |
atha ye evaṃ na vidur ye vaitat karma na kurvate mṛiteṇa punaḥ sam-
bhavanti te etasyaivannam punaḥ punar bhavanti |

Sātapattha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—“It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, ‘lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.’ 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the *agnihotra*, the *darśa*, and *pūrṇamāsa*, the *chāturmāsya*s (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the *paśubandha*, and the *saumya adhvara*; but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated *pariśrits*, *yajushmatīs*, *lokamprinās*, without definite measure, as some now⁶⁵ celebrate them. So

⁶⁵ This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.

all the gods, but they did not attain immortality. They went on worshipping and tolling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajapati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms: ye carry them in excess [?] and ye do not duly carry them out; hence ye do not become immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'perform 63 hundred *parishits*, 63 hundred and 36 *yajush-* *parishits*, and 10 thousand 6 hundred *lekamprinas*: ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'no other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then everyone who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his [death's] fool."

Satapatha Brāhmana, xi. i. 2, 12 p. 828'.—*Martyā ha vā agre dev-
āsuḥ sa gṛhāta te sa śatāṃ āpṛe atha amṛitā āsuḥ*, *sarvāṃ eva
śāntiḥ sarvāṃ vā aragyaṃ etān u ha aya aragyaṃ sukṛitā
bhavaty aragya lokaḥ*. "The gods were originally mortal." When they
obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is un-
decaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying
world."

Satapatha Brāhmana, xi. 2, 3, 6 p. 839.—*Martyā ha vā agre dev-
āsuḥ sa gṛhāta te brahmaṇā* "par [*yajur*], *gṛhātaḥ*, Comm.] *atha amṛitā āsuḥ*.
"The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by
Brāhma, they became immortal."

From the next passage, as from two others already quoted (p. 47),
it appears that Prajapati himself was not entirely exempt from the
power of death. Satapatha Brāhmana, x. 4, 4, 1 (p. 790).—

* See Satapatha Brāhmana, ii. 2, 2, 8 (p. 116), quoted in Part II. of this work,
p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to
have become immortal by another means.

*Prajāpatiṁ vai prajāḥ srijamānam pāpmā mṛityur abhipari-jaghāna |
sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānaṁ vijihāsann ityādi |*
“Sin, death, smote Prajāpati when he was creating living beings.
He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from Sin.”

The following legend describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—*Devāscha Asurāscha ubhaye prajāpatyāḥ Prajāpatoh pitur dāyam upēyur vācham eva satyānṛite satyāñchaiva anṛitañcha | te ubhaye eva satyam avadann ubhaye 'nṛitam | te ha sadṛisāṁ vadantaḥ sadṛisā evāsuḥ |* 13. *Te devā uterijyānṛitaṁ satyam anvālebbhire | asurā u ha uterijya satyam anṛitam anvālebbhire |* 14. *Tad ha idaṁ satyam iṣāñchakre yad asuresho āsa 'devā vā uterijya anṛitaṁ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad devān ājagāma |* 15. *Anṛitam u ha iṣāñchakre yad devesho āsa 'asurā vā uterijya satyam anṛitam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurān ājagāma |* 16. *Te devāḥ sarvaṁ satyam avadan sarvaṁ asurā anṛitam | te devā āsakti⁶⁷ satyāṁ vadanta aishāvīratarā iva āsur anāḍhyatarā iva | tasmād u ha etad ya āsakti satyāṁ vadaty aishāvīratara ivaiva bhavaty anāḍhyatara iva | sa ha tv evāntato bhavati⁶⁸ devā hy evāntato 'bhavan |* 17. *Atha ha asurā āsakti anṛitaṁ vadanta ūsha iva pipisur⁶⁹ āḍhyā ivāsuḥ | tasmād u ha etad ya āsakti anṛitaṁ vadaty ūsha ivaiva pisaty āḍhya iva bhavati parā ha tv evāntato bhavati parā hy asurā abhavan | tad yat tat satyāṁ trayī sā vidyā | te devā abruvan 'yajñam kṛitvedaṁ satyāṁ tanavāmahai' | 27. Teshu proto-shu trītiya-savanam atanvata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayāms*

⁶⁷ *Āsakti satyam | kevalaṁ satyam |* Comm.

⁶⁸ Some such preposition as *abhi* might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that *bhavati* may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, “he really exists, continues, or prevails.” Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

⁶⁹ I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa where the word *pisaty* occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: *Pesukam vai vāstu pisaty ha prajāyā paśubhir yasyaivaṁ vidusho 'nush-tubhsu bhavataḥ |* “His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two *anushtubs*.” The commentator explains the word *pesukam* as equal to *abhiwardhana-śīlam*, “whose nature is to increase,” and *pisaty* as meaning *atiriddho bhavati*, “he becomes exceedingly augmented.”

*tat sarrañ natyam āpnurāñ tato 'surā apapuprucire | tato devā abharan
parā 'surāñ | bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya dvishan bhrātṛīryo bhavati ya
crañ veda |*

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, obtained their father Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras, perceived this, 'the gods, abandoning falsehood have adopted truth; let me go thither.' So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods, perceived, 'the Asuras, abandoning truth have adopted falsehood; let me go thither.' So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth alone (or devotedly) the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks only truth, becomes as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [superior?] for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking only falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks only falsehood, increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but is overcome in the end, for the Asuras were overcome. That which is truth is the triple science (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, 'let us, after performing sacrifice, spread truth.'" The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. "When these had gone, they instituted the third *savana*, and accomplished it. That which they accomplished, they obtained entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and these gods became [superior and] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated."

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Śatapatha Brahmana, 4, 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.)—*Sarve ha vai devā
agre sadriṣā āsuḥ sarve punyāḥ | teshāñ sarveshāñ sadriṣānāñ sarveshāñ
punyānāñ trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishthāvānaḥ syāma' ity Agnir Indraḥ*

2. *Te 'rchanteḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān da-*

drīśus tūn atyagrihṇata | tad yad enān atyagrihṇata tasmād atigrāhyā nāma | te 'tishṭhāvāno 'bhavan | yathāite etad atishṭhā iva atishṭhā iva ha vai bhavati yasya evaṁ vidusha etūn grahūn grihṇanti | 3. *No ha vā idam agre 'gnau varcha āsa yad idam asmin varchaḥ | so 'kāmaya 'idam mayi varchaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agrihṇita tato 'sminn etad varcha āsa |* 4. *No ha vā idam agre Indre oja āsa yad idam asmin ojaḥ | so 'kāmaya 'idam mayy ojaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agrihṇita tato 'sminn etad oja āsa |* 5. *No ha vā idam agre sūrye bhrāja āsa yad idam asmin bhrājaḥ | so 'kāmaya 'idam mayi bhrājaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agrihṇita tato 'sminn etad bhrāja āsa | etāni ha rai tejāmsy etāni vīryany ātman dhatte yasya evaṁ vidusha etūn grahūn grihṇanti |*

“Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: ‘May we become superior,’ viz., Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling. They saw these *atigrāhyas*; ⁷⁰ they took them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called *atigrāhyas*. They became superior. As they [obtained?] thus, as it were, superiority, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas* (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: ‘May this flame be in me.’ He saw this *graha*, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3.] 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3.] That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas*.”

⁷⁰ By this name are called “three particular *grahas*, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya.” Prof. Goldstücker’s Dict. The word is explained by Boehtlingk and Roth, as meaning “*haustus insuper hauriendus*,” a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.

CHAPTER II.

VISHNU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRAHMANAS, THE ITIHASAS, AND THE PURANAS.

SECT. I.—*Passages in the Hymns of the Rig-veda relating to Vishṇu.*

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. : 16. (=S. V. 2, 1024) *Ato devā avantu no yato Vishṇur vichakrame | prithiryāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ |* 17. (=S. V. i. 222; Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4.) *Idaṁ Vishṇur vichakrame tredhā nidadhe padam | samūḷham asya pāṁsure [pāṁsule] |* S. V. 18. (=S. V. 2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5.) *Trīṇi padā vichakrame Vishṇur gopā adūbhyah | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan |* 19. (=S. V. 2, 1021; Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6.) *Vishṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paśpase | Indrasya yujyah sakḥā |* 20. (=S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7.) *Tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayah | diritri chazur ātutam |* 21. (=S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44.) *Tad riprāso ripanyaro jāgrivāṁsah samindhate | Vishṇor yat paramam padam |*

16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishṇu strode¹ through the seven regions of the earth." 17. Vishṇu strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step : [the world,

¹ Mbh. Sānti-Parva, v. 13, 171 : *Kramāṇīch chūpy aham Pārtha Vishṇur ity abhisamjñataḥ |* "And from striding, o son of Prithā, I am called Vishṇu."

² Instead of the words *prithiryāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*, the Sāma-veda reads, *prithiryā adhi sūnari* : "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his "Orient and Occident," i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishṇu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyana to this and the following verses, see Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda and notes *in loco*. Compare also Rosen's Latin version.

or, his step, was] enveloped in his dust.³ 18. Vishṇu, the unconquerable⁴ preserver, strode three steps, bearing from thence fixed observances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṇu, through which this fitting (or intimate) friend of Indra perceived⁵ religious ceremonies. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up⁶ [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṇu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19;⁷ where we have the following explanation of its purport:—

Yad idaṁ kīṇcha tad vikramato Viṣṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padaṁ | 'tredhā-bhāvāya prithivyām antariṣṭe divi' iti Śākapiṇiḥ | 'samā-rohane viṣṇupade gayāśirasi' ity Aurnavābhaḥ | 'samūḍham asya pāṁsure' | pyāyane 'ntariṣṭe padaṁ na drīṣyate | apivā upamārthe syāt | samūḍham asya pāṁsule iva padaṁ na drīṣyate ityādi |

"Vishṇu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. 'for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to Śākapiṇi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurnavābha. 'Samūḍham asya pāṁsure,' i.e. his place is not seen in the atmosphere (*pyāyane antariṣṭe*): or the phrase may be

³ According to Benfey, translation of S. V. p. 223, note, this phrase, the world is veiled in Vishṇu's dust, means, it is subjected to him. In his "Orient and Occident," he explains it thus: "he is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth." Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun's rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disk from the view of the observer? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3., "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

⁴ *Adābhya* may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishṇu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

⁵ Sāyana gives to the root *spas* the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders *paspase* by "received," and, in the "Orient and Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṇu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in Nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root *spas* occur in the R. V.

⁶ Benfey renders *samindhate* "glorify." The Commentator on the Vaj. S. 34, 44, makes it *dīpayante*=*upāsate*. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?]" when Vishṇu is in his highest position."

⁷ Formerly cited in part in the Second Part of this work, p. 187.

Vishnu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Śākapūṇi, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Śākapūṇi, or of Aurnāvābha, as handed down by Yāska of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishnu.

I proceed to quote from the Rig-veda some further texts relative to Vishnu.¹¹

R. V. i. 85, 7: *To avardhanta sva-tavaso mahitrān ā nākaṁ tasthur uru chakrire nadaḥ | Vishnur yad ha āvad ṛṣhaṇam mada-chyutaṁ rays na ādann adhi barhiṣhi priye |*

"They (the Maruts) strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishnu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,¹² they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—*Uta no dhiyo go-agraḥ Pūshan Vishno eva-yāraḥ | karta naḥ aratimataḥ | 9. sām no Mitraḥ sām Varuṇaḥ sām no bhārata Aryamā | sām na Indro Bṛhaspatiḥ sām no Vishnur urukramaḥ |*

5. "Pushan, Vishnu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle as their principal fruit: make us prosperous. 9. May Mitra, may Varuna, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛhaspati, may the wide-striding Vishnu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse—(where two gods are alluded to)—is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Vishnu's praises.

R. V. i. 154 (= Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—*Vishnor nu kaṁ rir-gāṇi prarochaṁ*¹³ *yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi | yo askabhāyad uttarām sadhasthaṁ vichakramāṇas tredhā urugāyaḥ | 2. (=A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3;*

¹¹ The word occurs in R. V. i. 61, 7, *Mushāyad vishnuḥ pachatam ityādi*; but it may there be an epithet of Indra.

¹² Though the commentator *in loco* renders *mada-chyutam* by *madasya harsha-syāsaktaram*, "dispenser of joy," he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2—where it is an epithet of Indra—by *satruṇām madasya garvasya chyāvayitāram*, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V. viii. 1, 21, the word *mada-chyut* is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt.

¹³ The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), *Indrasya nu viryāni prarochaṁ*, etc. Compare R. V. ii. 15, 1.

Nir. 1, 20): *Pra tad Vishṇuḥ stavate vīryeṇa mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*¹⁴ | *yasyorushu trishu vikramaṇeshu adhixiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā* | 3. *Pra Vishṇave śūsham etu manma girixite urugāyāya*¹⁵ *vṛishṇe* | *yaḥ idaṁ dīrgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame tribhīr it padebhīḥ* | 4. *Yasya trī pūrṇā madhunā padāni axīyamānā svadhayā madanti* | *ya u tridhātu prithivīm uta dyām eko dādḥāra bhuvanāni viśvā* | 5. *Tad asya priyam abhi pātho āśyām naro yatra devayavo madanti* | *urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā Vishṇoḥ pado parame madhva utsaḥ* | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): *Tā vām vāstūni ūsmasi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śringā ayāsaḥ* | *atrāha tad urugāyasya vṛishṇaḥ paramam padam ava bhāti bhūri* |

"I declare the valorous deeds of Vishṇu, who measured the mundane regions, who established the upper world, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishṇu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let the hymn proceed [as a source of] strength to Vishṇu, the dweller in the aerial mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone measured with three steps this wide, stable firmament;—4. Whose three stations, replenished with honey, imperishable, gladden us spontaneously; who alone sustained the triple universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishṇu. 6. We desire to attain to those abodes of you two, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here

¹⁴ On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "*Kuchara*" *iti charati karma kutsitam* | *atha eḥed devatābhūdhānām kea ayaṁ na charati iti* | *girishṭhā girishṭhāyī giriḥ parvataḥ* | . . . *tat-prakṛiti itarat sandhi-sāmānyād megha-sthāyī megho* 'pi *giriḥ etas-mād eva* | "*Kuchara*" is one who does (*charati*) a blameable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' "*Girishṭhāḥ*" means 'abiding in the mountains;' for *giri* means 'mountain.' The author then gives various etymologies of the word *parvata*, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from *parvan*, "a joint;" and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called *giri* for the same reason." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison *mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ* is applied to Indra in R. V. x. 180, 2 (= S. V. ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3).

¹⁵ *Urugāyasya* = *prithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā*,—Sāyaṇa on R. V. iii. 6, 4. *Urugāyasya* = *mahāgateh*.—Nir. ii. 7.

that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Śāyana gives of the words *pārthivāni rajāṃsi*, in the first verse of the preceding hymn : *Yo Viṣṇuḥ pārthivāni prithivī-sambandhinī rajāṃsi rañjanātmanakāni xity ādi-loka-trayābhināniny Agni-Vāy-Āditya-rūpāni rajāṃsi vimame rīṣakṇaḥ nirmame atra trayo lokā api prithivī-śabda-rāchyāḥ ; tathā cha mantrāntaram* [R. V. i. 108, 9, 'yad Indrāgni atamasyām prithivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta stha' iti ; *Taittirīye* 'pi 'yo 'syām prithivyām ayy āyushā' ity upakramya 'yo dṛitīyasyām tṛitīyasyām prithivyām' iti | *tasmāl lokatrayasya prithivī-śabda-rāchyatram* | . . . *yadrū yo Viṣṇuḥ pārthivāni prithivī-sambandhinī rajāṃsi adhaṣṭana-sapta-lokān vimame* | . . . *rajaḥ-śabdo loka-rāchī 'lokā rajāṃsy uchyante'* iti *Yāsenoktatāt* | . . . *atharū pārthivāni prithivī-nimittakāni rajāṃsi lokān vimame* | *bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthaḥ* | *bhūmyām upārjita-karma-bhogaṛthātṛād itara-lokānām tat-kāraṇatram* |

"[The meaning is], Vishṇu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with *prithivī* (the earth),—the regions (*rajāṃsi*),—the things whose nature is to delight (*rañjanātmanakāni*),—represented by the three worlds, the earth, etc., and existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term *prithivī*. Thus another hymn [R. V. i. 108, 9, says]: 'Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest earth (*prithivī*), in the middle [earth], or in the highest,' etc. In the *Taittirīya* also, [we have the words beginning with] 'thou who art on this earth,' etc., etc.; [and proceeding] 'who in the second, or third earth,' etc., etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word *prithivī*. . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Viṣṇu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term *rajas* denotes a world, since Yaska says 'worlds are called *rajāṃsi*.' . . . Or [the sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth, and the others. For as the other worlds are meant to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former."

The following is the passage of the *Nirukta*, iv. 19, referred to by Śāyana, which gives the meanings of *rajas*: *Rajo rajateḥ | jyotiḥ raja*

*uchyate | udakaṁ raja uchyate | lokā rajāṁsy uchyante | asṛig¹⁶-ahanī
rajasī uchyete | 'rajāṁsi chitrā vicharanti tanyava' ity api nigamo
bhavati |*

"*Rajas* is derived from the root *raj*. Light is called *rajas*. Water is called *rajas*. The worlds are called *rajāṁsi*. Blood (?), and day and night are called *rajasī*. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), 'Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds.'—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii. 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (*rajāṁsi*): *vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajāṁsi*, "who established these six worlds."

The verb *vimame* cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs, not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing," as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament *with three steps*. The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ*, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 14), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 158. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle *mimānaḥ* seems to have the same sense: *vi dyām eṣhi rajas prithv āhā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya* | "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (*rajas*), and the days, with thy rays," beholding created things."

The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ* occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is *arkas tridhātū rajaso vimānaḥ*¹⁷ | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: *tredhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vāy-ātmanā rajaso 'ntarixasya vimāno. vimātū 'dhiṣṭhāta 'smi* | "Triply dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere."

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: "He stood and measured the earth," etc.

I shall adduce one other passage (R. V. v. 81, 3 = Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the

¹⁶ Roth conjectures that the word *asṛig* here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.

¹⁷ The word *aktubhiḥ* is rendered "nights" by Yāska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by *raśmibhiḥ*, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.

¹⁸ This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Pariśiṣṭa ii. 1.

world is ascribed to Savitṛi (the sun): *Yasya prayānam aṇe anye id yayur devā devasya mahimānam ojasā | yaḥ pāṛthivāni vimame sa etad rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahiteanā* | "He who measured out the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitṛi is a steed, whose course, and [whose display of] might, the other gods have followed with vigour."

This text is quoted and commented on in the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18 (p. 520). '*Yasya prayānam aṇe anye id yayur*' iti | *Prajā-patir vā etad agre karmākaroḥ | tat tato devā akurvan* 'devā devasya mahimānam ojasā' iti | *yajño cai mahimā | devā devasya yajñam cīryyam ojasā ity etad* | '*yaḥ pāṛthivāni vimame sa etad*' iti | *yad vai kiṇcha asyām tat pāṛthivam tad esha sarvaṁ vimimite | raśmibhir hy enad abhyavatanoti* | '*rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahiteanā*' iti | *ime vai lokā rajāṁsy asāv Ādityo devaḥ Savitā | tām esha mahimnā vimimite* | "'Whose course the other gods have followed.' Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] 'the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.' Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. 'He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.' Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. 'The god Savitṛi [measured out] the regions by his power.' These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitṛi. He measures them out by his power."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words *pāṛthivāni vimame rajāṁsi*, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of its account of the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu, assigning to them, however, a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāram mahimna uru-vikramato grīṇāno yaḥ pāṛthivāni vimame sa rajāṁsi marttyaḥ | kiṁ jāyamāna uta jāta upaiti marttya ity āha mantradṛg ṛishiḥ puruṣasya yasya* | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Viṣṇu's) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can the mortal who is being born, or has been born, attain to it? Thus speaks the ṛishi who saw a hymn regarding Puruṣa."

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: *Uru bahu vikramato Viṣṇor mahimnaḥ pāraṁ yo grīṇāno bhavati sa marttyaḥ pāṛthivāni rajāṁsy api vimame ganitavān | yathā pāṛthiva-paramāṇu-ga-*

nam asakyaṁ tathā Viṣṇor guṇa-gaṇanam asakyaṁ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha manthro 'Viṣṇor nu kaṁ vīryāni' iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthaṁ sūchayann āha yasya puruṣasya pūrṇa-mahimnaḥ pāram mantra-dṛig ṛishir Vasishṭha ity evam āha | katham | kiṁ jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko'pi iti vadann anantatvena evāha ity arthaḥ | tathā cha manthro 'na te Viṣṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa' iti |
 "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Viṣṇu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Viṣṇu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says: *I declare the valorous deeds of Viṣṇu*, etc. Alluding to the sense of another hymn, he says the same thing in these words: 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Puruṣa, Vasishṭha, the seer of a hymn, thus speaks: 'How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: *No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, o divine Viṣṇu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness.*"

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: *Sarve 'pi rāsmayo gāva uchyaṇte | . . . tāni vām vāstūni kāmayaṁāho gamanāya yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛiṅgāḥ . . . ayāso 'yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Viṣṇor mahāgateḥ paramam padam parārdhyastham avabhāti bhūri |* "All rays are called *gāvaḥ*." Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: "We desire to attain to these regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest place, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Viṣṇu shines forth brightly."

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving, cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Viṣṇu; consequently the dual *vām* ('of you two'), cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying *vām iti dampātī abhipretya*, etc. "*vām* refers to the sacrificer and his wife." But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong

places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Saṁhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Viṣṇu is named in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vajasaneyi Saṁhitā (6, 3), which, instead of *tā cām vāstāny ūsmanī gamadhyai*, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, *yā te dhāmāny ūsmanī*, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Viṣṇu are jointly extolled :

R. V. i. 155,—*Prā vaḥ pāntam*¹⁹ *andhavo dhiyāyate mahe śārīya*
Viṣṇave cha archata | *yā sūnūni parvatānām adābhyā mahas tusthatu*
arvatoṣa sādhuṇā | 2. *Tveṣam itthā samaraṇam*²⁰ *śinīrator Indrā-*
Viṣṇū nūta-pā cām uruṣhyati | *yā marttyāya pratidhiyamānam it kṛi-*
śānor astur asanām uruṣyathaḥ | 3. *Tū im vardhanti mahi asya pauṣ-*
syam nī mātarā nayati retase bhuje | *dadhāti putro avaram param pītu*
nāma tritīyam adhi rochane dīcaḥ | 4. *Tut tad id asya pauṣṇyaṁ gri-*
ṇīmasi inasya trātur arīkasya mīlhusaḥ | *yaḥ pārthivāni tribhir id*
vigāmaḥhir uru kramiṣṭhorugāyāya jīcase | 5. *Dce id asya kramas-*
scardriśo abhikhyāya marttyo bhuranyati | *tritīyam asya nakir ā da-*
dharshati vayas chana patayantaḥ patatrināḥ | 6. *Chaturbhiḥ sākāḥ*
navatūcha nāmabhiḥ cakram na vṛittam vyātīnr avīvipat | *bṛihachchha-*
rīro vicimāna rīkeabhir yuvā 'kumāraḥ prati eti āhavam |

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Viṣṇu, who both stood, great and invincible, on the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [mounted] on an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Viṣṇu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are energetic,—who avert from the [pious] mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiśānu. 3. These [libations] augment his (Viṣṇu's) virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the uninjuring, the fecundator, who with three steps traversed²¹ far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake

¹⁹ *Pāntam* = *pānīyam*.—Nir. vii. 25.

²⁰ *Samaraṇam* s. = *sangrāma-nāma*.—Nigh. 2, 17.

²¹ Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 54, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 58, f.)

of [granting us] a prolonged (*lit.* wide-stepping) existence.²³ 5. A mortal, contemplating, can approach two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dare attempt his third step, not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. He has set in motion, like a rolling wheel, the revolutions of time (?), with their four times (?) ninety names (days?). Conceived by his encomiasts to be vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat."

R. V. 1, 156.—*Bhavā mitro na śvayo ghrītāsutir vibhūta-dyumna evayā u saprathāḥ | adhā te Viṣṇo vidushā chid ardhyaḥ stomo yajñāścha rādhyo havishmatā |* 2. *Yāḥ pūrvyāya vedhaso navīyase sumajjānaye Viṣṇave dadūṣati | yo jātām asya mahato mahi bravat sa id u śravobhir yuyam chid abhi asat |* 3. *Tam u stotūrah pūrvyam yathā vida ṛitasya garbhāṁ janushā piparttana | ā asya jūnanto nāma chid vivaktana mahas te Viṣṇo sumatim bhajāmāhe |* 4. *Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Āsvind kratuṁ sachanta mārutasya vedhasaḥ | dādāra dazam uttamam ahar-vidam vrajam cha Viṣṇur sakhivān apornute |* 5. *Ā yo vivāya sachathāya daivya Indrāya Viṣṇuḥ sukṛite sukṛittarāḥ | vedhā ajinvat triśadhastha ūryam ṛitasya bhāge yajamānām ā bhajat |*

"Be to us beneficent like a friend [or like Mittra], worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Viṣṇu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Viṣṇu, the ancient, the disposer, the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,²⁴—he who extols the birth [or offspring] of this mighty Being, shall excel his rival²⁴ in [renown]. 3. Encomiasts, strive to the

²³ Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (p. 71, below).

²⁴ Sāyaṇa gives two explanations of the word *sumaj-jāni*. The first makes it *evayam evotpannāya*, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: *Sumat evayam ity arthaḥ | "sumat means evayam, self."*) The second meaning is thus stated: *Sutarām mādayati iti sumat | tadṛiṣi jāyā yasya sa | tasmai sarva-jagan-mādana-śīla-Srī-pataye | "su-mat means 'greatly gladdening.' Sumaj-jāni then signifies 'one who has such a wife.' The phrase will thus mean, 'to the lord of Srī, whose nature it is to gladden the world.'" Dr. Aufrecht thinks that jāni has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 90, supposes *sumat* to be derived from *su*, and to mean "easily," "gladly."*

²⁴ Compare the words *yuyō vā sakhā vā* in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where *yuyō* is explained by Sāyaṇa as = *yojana-samarthaḥ pitrūdir vā*; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word *yuyō* is said to be equivalent to *anukūla*, "friendly." Compare also *yuyō* in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

utmost of your skill to please him who, by his nature, is the primal source of sacred rites. Knowing his name (renown?), declare, 'Vishnu, we seek the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuṇa and the Aśvins wait on the decree of this ruler attended by the Maruṭa. Vishnu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day;²⁵ and with his friend, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishnu, who has chosen companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Aryya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony."

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardha-garbhā bhuvanasya reto Viṣṇoḥ tiṣṭhanti pradiśu vidharmanī | te dhitiḥbhīr manasā te vipāśchitaḥ paribhuraḥ pari bharaṇti vīścataḥ |* "Seven half-children (?), the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishnu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, circling, revolve in every direction."

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance. Compare, however, R. V. ix. 86, 29, which will be quoted below, and in which the same words *pradiś* and *vidharman* occur.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—*Pro Aśvināv araso kṛipudhvam pra Pūṣhaṇāṁ svataṛaso hi santi | advesho Viṣṇur Vātaḥ Rībhuxaḥ achhā sunnāya varṛitiya devān |* "Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishnu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Rībhuxan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—*Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi traṁ Viṣṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid brahmanaspate traṁ vidharttaḥ sachase purandhyā |* "Thou, Agni, art Indra, bountiful to the excellent; thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmanaspati, art a priest, acquainted with wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with Purandhi (Devotion)."

R. V. ii. 22, 1 (S. V. i. 457).—*Trikadrakeshu mahiṣo yavāsīraṁ turīśushmas tripat somam apibad Viṣṇuṇā sutāṁ yathā 'vaśat | sa im mamāda mahi karma karttave mahām uruṁ sa enaṁ saśchad devo devaṁ satyam Indrāṁ satya Induḥ |* "The great [Indra] of mighty force,

²⁵ See the interpretation of the word *aharvid* given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2.

delighted, has drunk with Vishṇu the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth at the *Trikadruka* festival, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra."

R. V. iii. 6, 4.—*Mahān sadhasṭhe dhruva ā nishatto antar dyāvā māhina haryamānaḥ | āskre sapatnī ajare amṛikte sabardughe urugāyasya²⁶ dhenuḥ* | "The great [god, Agni,] firm, seated in his abode, aspires to [the space] between the mighty heaven and earth,—the two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], aggressive,²⁷ undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water."

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—*Vishṇuṁ stomāsaḥ puru-dasman arkā bhagasyeva kārīṇo yāmani gman | urukramaḥ kakūho yasya pūrvar na mardhanti yuvatayo janitriḥ* | "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishṇu, the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of victory. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose primeval, creative wives are indefatigable."

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—*Vishṇur gopāḥ²⁸ paramam pāti pāthaḥ priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ | Agniḥ itā viśtvā bhuvanāni veda mahad devānām asuratvam ekam* | "Vishṇu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear,²⁹ undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

R. V. iv. 2, 4.—*Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇam Mitram eṣhām Indrā-Vishṇu Maruto Aśvinā uta | su-āsvo Agne su-rathaḥ su-rādhāḥ ā id u caha su-haviṣo janāya* | "Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and great power, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins."

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—*Kathā mahe puṣṭim-bharāya Pūṣhno kad Rudrāya su-makhāya havir-do | kad Vishṇave uru-gāyāya reto³⁰ bravaḥ kad Agne*

²⁶ *Prithugemanasya adhika-stuter vā*; Sāyaṇa, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.

²⁷ Or, "united," according to Prof. Roth.

²⁸ Compare R. V. i. 22, 18. The word Vishṇu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading."

²⁹ Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word *priya* by *aparimīta*, "unmeasured," in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.

³⁰ Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been *repas* = *āgas*,

Sarve pāpāṇaḥ — *Vit* *agnī* [simultaneously declare our sin] to the great supplier of investment, *Vishnu*? *vit* to *Indra*, the adored, the giver of dominions? *vit* simultaneously declare our sin to the wide-sweeping *Vāta*? *vit* to the great *Sakti*, *Nāga*?¹

R. V. vi. 10, 11. — The mother *māhishā* conceived and *trā jāhātī putre devā* [the divine Father] *Indrā* *hanuṃ* *asāhe* *Vishno* *vitarāṃ* [*Indra*]. — and his mother asked the mighty [*Indra*], ‘My son, do thou gods forsake thee?’ Then *Indra*, being about to slay *Vritra*, said, ‘Friend *Vishnu*, stride vastly.’

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 8th hymn of the 5th *Mandala*, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 89, 12. — *Sakhe Vishno vitarāṃ vīramasva dyaur deli lokāṃ vajrāya viśhokāhe hanūta Vritirāṃ viśochāra sindhūn Indrasya yantu prasave viśvīkṣāḥ* — “Friend *Vishnu*, stride vastly;’ sky, give room for the thunderbolt to strike; let us slay *Vritra*, and let loose the waters: let them, when released, flow in the path [opened out by?] *Indra*.”

R. V. iv. 55, 4. — *Ṭi Aryamā Varuṇas cheti panthām iśhas-patiḥ avitām gātum Agniḥ Indrā-Vishnū nṛi-rad u shu statūnā śarma no yantam amataḥ varūtham* | “*Aryaman* and *Varuṇa* point out our path; so too *Agni*, the lord of strength, [shews us] a prosperous road. *Indra* and *Vishnu*, when they are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection.”

R. V. v. 3, 1-3. — *Tram Agne Varuṇo jāyase yat tram Mitro bharasi yat samiddaḥ* | *tre viśve sahasas-putra devās tram Indro dāsushe martyāya* | 2. *Tram Aryamā bharasi yat kaninām nāma sadhāran guhyam hihharshi* | *añjanti mitraṃ sudhitāṃ na gobhir yad dampati samanasaḥ kṛiṇoshī* | 3. *Taca śriye Maruto marjayanta*² | *Rudra yat te janima chāru chitram* | *padaṃ yad Vishnor upamaṃ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyam nāma gṇām* |

“Thou, *Agni* [art] *Varuṇa*, when thou art born; thou art *Mitra* when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods;

“sin.” But as the text stands he would connect *retas* with *śarave*, so as to give the sense, “our sin (understood), which is the occasion for the great arrow of destruction.”

² Compare R. V. vii. 3, 6.

thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-controuled, possessest the secret name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest husband and wife of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts prepare that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine.²² Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vishṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows (stars, or rays.)

R. V. v. 46, 2-4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—*Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitra devāḥ śardhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vishṇo | ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūṣha Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta | 3. Indrāgnī Mitra-Varuṇā Aditiṁ evaḥ prithiviṁ dyām Marutaḥ parvatān apaḥ | huve Vishṇum Pūṣhaṇam Brahmanaspatiṁ Bhagām nu Saṁsaṁ Savitāram ūtaye | 4. Uta no Vishṇur uta Vāto asridho draviṇodāḥ uta Soma mayas karat | uta Ṛibhavaḥ uta rāye no Aśvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vibhṇā anu māṁsate |*

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and ye host of Maruts and Vishṇu. May both the Aśvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, be pleased with us. 3. I invoke, for our protection, Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, heaven, earth, sky, the Maruts, the mountains, the waters, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, Bhaga, Saṁsa, and Savitṛi. 4. And may Vishṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And may the Ṛibhus, Aśvins, Tvashṭri, and Vibhvan be favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R. V. v. 51, 9.—*Sajūr Mitra-Varuṇābhyām sajūḥ somena Vishṇuṇā | a yāhi Agne Atri-vaṭ suto rāṇa |* "Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa, associated with Soma and Vishṇu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—*Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Vishṇavo Marutate girijā evayāmarut | pra śardhāya prayajyave sukhādaye tarase bhandaḥ-ishṭāye dhuni-vaṭāya śavase | . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-kramaḥ samānasmāt sadasa evayāmarut | yadā ayukta tmanā svādhi shṇubhir viṣhpardhaso vimahaso jigāti śerṇidho nṛibiḥ | . . . 8. Advesho no Maruto gātum ā itana śrotā havām jaritūr evayā-*

²² This refers, as Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.

*marut | Vishṇor mahāḥ samanyavo yuyotana smad rathyo na dāṁsanā
apa dveshāṁsi sanutāḥ |*

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born), hymns proceed to the great Vishṇu, attended by the Maruts, o Evayāmarut, (swiftly-moving Marut?); and to the troop of Maruts, adorable, wearing beautiful rings, strong, worshipped by praise, to that power which delights in storm.³³ . . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, o Evayāmarut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . 8. Maruts, come without malice to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayāmarut; of the same mind with the great Vishṇu, like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might."

The difficult hymn from which these verses are taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—*Vardhān yaṁ viśve Marutaḥ sajośāḥ pachat śatam mahishān Indra tubhyaṁ | Pūshā Vishṇus trīṇi sarāṁsi dhāvan vṛitrahanam madīram aṁśum asmai |* "For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, magnified, Pūshan and Vishṇu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma."³⁴

R. V. vi. 20, 2.—*Divo na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ devebhīr dhāyi viśvam | Ahiṁ yad Vṛittram apo vavṛivāṁsaṁ hant vṛiṣhīn Vishvunā sachānaḥ |* "All divine power, like that of the sky, was completely communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods,³⁵ when thou, o impetuous [deity], associated with Vishṇu, didst slay Vṛittra Ahi stopping up the waters."

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—*Pra ūtaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutaḥ kṛishva avase no adya | pra Pūshanaṁ Vishṇum Agnim Purandhim Savitāram oshadhīḥ parvatāmścha |* "Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Vishṇu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains."

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—*Taṁ vaḥ Indram na sukratūṁ Varuṇam iva māyī-*

³³ Or, "loud-resounding."—Roth.

³⁴ To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: *Ekayā pratidhā pibat sūkam sūraṁsi trīṁsatam | Indrah somasya kūṇukā |* "Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma." . . . This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word *kūṇukā*, at the close. See Roth's Illust. of Nir., p. 60, f.

³⁵ *Stotṛibhiḥ*, "worshippers," according to Sāyaṇa.

nam | *Aryamanam na mandram sipra*³¹ *bhojasam Vishnuṁ na stushe* *ādīte* | “I praise thee (Pūshan?), beneficent like Indra, wondrous in power like Varuṇa, wise like Aryaman, conferring extended enjoyment like Viṣṇu, that thou mayest bestow wealth.”³²

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—*Yo rajāṁsi vimame*³³ *pārthivāni tris chid Vishnur* *Manave bādhitāya* | *tasya te śarmann upa-dadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā* *tanā cha* | “May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, in the home given by thee, that Viṣṇu who thrice measured the mundane regions for Manu when he was oppressed.”³⁴

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—*Te no Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajoshūḥ mīlhuṣmanto* *Vishnur mṛṣantu Vāyuh* | *Ribhuxāḥ Vajo daivyo vidhātā Parjanya-vātā* *pipyatām ishām naḥ* | “May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ribhuxan, Vāja, the divine Vidhātṛi (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta increase our energy.”

R. V. vi. 69, 1-8.—*Saṁ vām karmaṇā sam ishā kinomi Indrā-Vishnū* *apasas pāre asya* | *jushethām yajñam draviṇam cha dhattam arishṭair naḥ* *pathibhiḥ pārayantā* | 2. *Yā viśvāsām janitārā matinām Indrā-Vishnū* *kalasā soma-dhānā* | *pra vām girāḥ śasyamānā avantu pra stomāso giya-* *mānāso arkaiḥ* | 3. *Indrā-Vishnū mada-patī madānām ā somam yātām* *draviṇo dadhānā* | *saṁ vām añjantu aktubhir matinām saṁ stomāsaḥ śa-* *syamānāsaḥ ukthaiḥ* | 4. *Ā vām aśvāso abhimāti-śāhaḥ Indrā-Vishnū* *sadhemaṇdo vahantu* | *jushethām viśvā havanā matinām upa brahmāṇi śṛi-* *gutaṁ giro me* | 5. *Indrā-Vishnū tat panayāyāṁ vām somasya mado* *uru chakramāthe* | *akṛiṇutam antarixam cariyo aprathatām jivase no ra-* *jāṁsi* | 6. *Indrā-Vishnū havishā vāvṛidhānā agrādvānā namasā rāta-* *havyā* | *ghṛitāsvitī draviṇam dhattam asme samudraḥ sthāḥ kalasāḥ soma-* *dhānaḥ* | 7. *Indrā-Vishnū pibatam madhvo asya somasya dasrā jaṭharam* *prineṭhām* | *ā vām andhāṁsi madirāṇi agmann upa brahmāṇi śṛiṇutaṁ* *havam me* | 8. (A. V. 7, 44, 1) *Ubhā jigyathur na parā jayethe na*

³¹ The word *sipra* occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 5; and viii. 32, 10=S. V. i. 217. By Yaska, Nir. vi. 17., it is derived from the root *sip*, “to go” (see Roth’s Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyana *sarpaṇa-sīla*, “going,” *prasaṇita*, “extended,” etc. (see also Benfey’s Glossary to the S. V.)

³² Such is the sense assigned to *ādīte* by Sāyana: in Wilson’s Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word *pradeśāna* rendered “a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends,” etc.

³³ *Tribhīr eva vikramaṇaiḥ parimitavān* | “measured with three strides.”—Sāyana. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 58, ff.), and vii. 100, 4., below, (p. 75).

³⁴ *Asurasir hiṁsitāya* | “injured by Asuras.”—Sāyana.

parā jiggye kataraschanaishoḥ Indraścha Vishṇo yad apaspridhethām tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām |

"Indra and Vishṇu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation: at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṇu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you" twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotion and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṇu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;" ye made the atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence. 6. Indra and Vishṇu, growing by our oblation, swallows of the essence of the soma, ye who are worshipped with reverence, and to whom butter is presented, bring us wealth, for ye are the receptacle, the bowl, in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishṇu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion; fill your bellies with soma; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishṇu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

⁴¹ The commentator remarks on this: *Yadyapi Vishṇor eva vikramas tathāpy ekāṁ thatvā ubhayor ity uchyate* | "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishṇu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet *urukrama*, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to Siva.

⁴² The commentator explains this as follows: *Yad yad vastu praty apaspridhethām asuraish saha aspridhethām tredhā loka-veda-vāgātmanā tredhā sthitāṁ sahasraṁ amītaṁ cha vi tad airayethām vyakramuthām ity arthoḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇam "ubhā jiggyathur ity aschekhhāvākasya | ubhau hi tau jiggyathur na parājayethe na parājigyē iti na hi tayoh kataraschana parājigyē 'Indraś cha Vishṇo yad apaspridhethām tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām' iti | Indraś cha ha vai Vishṇuś cha asurair yuyudhāte tām ha soma jitrū uchatuḥ kalpāmahū iti | te ha tathā ity asurā ūchuh | so'bravīd Indro yāvad vāgātman Vishṇus tvir vikramate tūvad asmākam atha yushmākam itarad iti | sa imān lokan richakrame 'tho vedān atho vācam | tad ūhuḥ kiṁ tat sahasraṁ*

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (=A. V. xix. 10, 9).—*Sam no Aditir bhavatu vratebhiḥ sam no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arkāḥ | sam no Vishṇuḥ sam u Pūshā no astu sam no bhavitraṁ sam u astu Vāyuḥ* | “May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vishṇu, may Pūshan, may the Air,⁴³ may Vāyu, be propitious to us.”

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—*Achha ayaṁ vo Marutaḥ ślokaḥ etu achha Vishṇuṁ nishikta-pām śravobhir ityādi* | “Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Vishṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies,” etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—*Ā Agne giro diva ā prithivyā Mitraṁ vaha Varuṇam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamānam Aditiṁ Vishṇum eśhām Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām* | “Agni, [whether thou art] in heaven or earth, carry our words to Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishṇu, among these gods: may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be pleased.”

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—*Asya devasya mīlhuṣho vayāḥ Vishṇor eśhasya*⁴⁴

iti ime lokā ime vedā atho vāg iti brūyāt | airayethām airayethām [ity achhāvāka ukthyo 'bhyaśyati]” | Ait. Br. 6, 16. | “In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, i.e. immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 16,] says: *ye both conquered*; this is what the Achhāvāka priest [repeats]: *for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished*: [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishṇu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, ‘let us divide [the world].’ The Asuras said, ‘be it so.’ Indra said, ‘As much as this Vishṇu strides over in three strides, so much is ours; the rest is yours.’ He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, ‘what is that thousand?’ let him say, ‘These worlds, these Vedas, then speech.’ The Achhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual ‘ye scattered, ye scattered.’”

⁴³ The word *bhavitra* is explained by Sayana as = *bhuvanam antarixam udakāṁ vā*. “The world, or the atmosphere, or water.” The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.

⁴⁴ Sayana interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, *Vishṇoḥ sarva-devātmakasya asya devasya anye devā vayāḥ śākhā iva bhavanti* | “Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains *eśhasya* as follows: *Prabhrīthe hacirbhir havi-rūpair annaiḥ eśhasya prāpranīyasya*. “One who, in the sacrifice, can be reached by oblations of food.” The same epithet *eśha* is applied to Vishṇu in the other two following passages referred to in Boeht. and Roth’s *Lexicon* under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—*Tān vo maho Maruta crayātvo Vishṇor eśhasya prabhṛithe hacīmahe | ityādi* | “In the sacrifice of the rapid Vishṇu we invoke you the great, and impetuous Maruts,” etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—*Idmā hi*

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Vishṇu, knowest the remotest [world]. 2. No one, o divine Vishṇu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.⁴⁷ 3. [Ye two worlds] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Vishṇu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelop the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Vishṇu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, o heroes, destroyed in the battles the illusions of the hostile (*dāsa*) Vṛishasīpra. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn magnifies you two, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Vishṇu, and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Increase my vigour, should [I fall] into calamity. 7. Vishṇu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth. Śipivishṭa, receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns magnify thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—*Nū martto dayato sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāsat | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantān naryam ācivāsat |*
 2. *Tvaṁ Viṣṇo sumatiṁ viśvajanyām aprayutām ecayāvo matiṁ dāḥ |*
pareho yathā naḥ suvitasya bhūrer asvāvataḥ puruścandrasya rāyaḥ |
 3. *Trir devaḥ prithivīm esha etān vi chakrame śatarchasam mahitvā |*
pra Viṣṇur astu tavasas taviyān tveshaṁ hi asya śhāviraśya nāma |
 4. *Vi chakrame prithivīm esha etān xetrāya Viṣṇur manushe dāśasyan |*
dhrucāso asya kīrayo janāsaḥ uruxitiṁ sujanimā chakāra | 5. (S. V. 2, 976; Nir. 5, 9.) *Pra tat te adya śipivishṭa nāma ayaḥ śaṁsāmi*
vayunāni vidvān | taṁ tvā grīṇāmi tavasam atavyān xayantam asya
rajaśaḥ parāke | 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Nir. 5, 8.) *Kim it te Viṣṇo*
parichazyam bhūt⁴⁸ pra yad vacaxe śipivishṭo asmi | mā carpo asmad
apa gūha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samithe babhūtha | (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to

⁴⁷ Compare Isaiah xl. 22; xlv. 12, 18.

⁴⁸ The Sūma-veda reads *parichazi nāma*.

Vishnu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishnu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice this god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishnu be the strongest of the strong: for awful is the name (power?) of that immovable [being]. 4. This Vishnu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a master, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and afar off, reignest over this lower world. 6. What, Vishnu, hadst thou to conceal, that thou declarest, 'I am S'ipivishṭa?' Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: *Purā khalu Viṣṇuḥ eam rūpam parityajya kṛtrimaṁ rūpāntaram dhārayan saṅgrāme Vasishṭhasya sākhyayā chakāra | tāṁ jñānāṁ rishir anayā pratyūchashṭe* | "Vishnu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognising the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse." In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yaska quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us, (v. 7) that "Vishnu has two names, S'ipivishṭa, and Vishnu, of which, according to Aupamanyava, the former has a bad sense," (*S'ipivishṭo Viṣṇur iti Viṣṇor dve namanī bhavataḥ | kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ*), Yaska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: *Kiṁ te Viṣṇo 'prakhyaṭam etad bhavaty aprakhyaṇīyaṁ yan naḥ pra-brūshe | śepa iva nirveshṭo 'smi ity apratipanna-raśmih | api vā praśaṁsā-nāmaiva abhipretāṁ syāt | kiṁ te Viṣṇo prakhyātam etad bhavati prakhyāpanīyaṁ yad uta pra-brūshe S'ipivishṭo 'smi iti pratipanna-raśmih | śipayo 'tra rāsmaya uchyaṁte tair āviṣṭo bhavati | mā varpo asmad apagūha etat | varpa iti rūpa-nāma . . . | yad aṅga-rūpaḥ samithe saṅgrāme bhavasi sāmyata-raśmih* | "What, Vishnu, is this undeclared thing of thine not to be declared, which thou tellest? 'I am enveloped like a private member,' i.e. with rays obscured. Or, by *S'ipivishṭa* a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest? 'I am *S'ipivishṭa*, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.' The word '*śipa*' here means 'rays;' with these he is pervaded. 'Do not conceal this form:' *varpa* is a word meaning 'form' 'That thou art of another form in the battle (*samithe = saṅgrāme*), with thy rays obscured (?)'" On v. 5, Yaska remarks: Nir. v. 9: "*Tat te 'dya 'Sipivishṭa nāma aṅgaḥ śaṁsāmī*" | *aryyo 'ham asmi tēvaḥ stomaṁāmī* | *aryyas team asi iti vā | tāṁ tevā staumi tavasam atavyāms tavasa iti mahato nāma-dheyam udito bhavati | nivasantam aṅga rajasah parāke parākrānte* | "I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa.' I am *aṅgaḥ*, a master of songs. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' *Tavas* is a word used for 'great.' 'Dwelling beyond (*parāke = parākrānte*) this lower world.'" In the Mahābhārata,

R. V. viii. 9, 12.—*Yad Indreṇa sarathāṃ yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vāyuna bhavathāḥ samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Ṛibhubhiḥ sajoshasā yad vā Vishnor vikramaṇeshu tiśṭhathāḥ* | “When, Aśvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Adityas and the Ṛibhus, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu.”

R. V. viii. 10, 2.— *Bṛihaspatiṃ Viśvāndevān ahaṃ huvo Indrā-Vishṇū Aśvināu āśu-heshasā* | “I invoke Bṛihaspati, the Viśve-devas, Indra and Vishṇu, and the Aśvins with swift steeds.”

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—*Yat somam Indra Vishṇavi yad vā gha Trita Āptye | yad vā Marutsu mandase sam Indubhiḥ* | 25. *Yad Indra pritanājye devās tvā dadhire purāḥ | ad it te haryatā harī vavazatuḥ* | 26. *Yadā Vṛittraṃ nadi-vṛitaṃ śavasā vajrinn abadhīḥ | tad ad id ityādi* | 27. *Yadā te Vishṇur ojasā trīṇi padā vichakrame | ad id ityādi* |

“Whōther, Indra, thou enjoyest soma, along with Vishṇu, or with Trita Aptya, or with the Maruts, [partake also of our] libations. . . . 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds grew. 26. When, thunderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛittra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew. 27. When by thy force Vishṇu strode three steps, then thy dear steeds grew.”

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996 f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—*Tava dyaur Indra pauṃsyam prithivī vardhati śravaḥ | tvām āpaḥ parvatāsā cha hinvīro* | 9. *Tvām Vishṇur bṛihaṇ xayo*⁶⁰ *Mitro grīṇāti Varunaḥ* |

S’āntiparva, vv. 13229, ff, Kṛishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word *S’ipivishṭa* thus; (If the writer intended to represent Yāska as the rishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): *S’ipivishṭeti chākhyāyām hīna-ronā cha yo bhavet | tenāviśṭam tu yat kinchich Chhipivishṭeti cha smṛitaḥ | Yāsko mām ṛishir acyagro naika-yajñeshu gītavān | S’ipivishṭa iti hy asmād guhya-nāma-dhara hy aham | stutvā mām S’ipivishṭeti Yāskah sarshir udāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasādād adho nashṭam Niruktaṃ abhijagmivān* | “A bald man is designated by the word *S’ipivishṭa*. Anything which is penetrated by that (what?) is called *S’ipivishṭa*. Yāska, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this I bear the mysterious name of *S’ipivishṭa*. Yāska, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as *S’ipivishṭa*, recovered by my favour the *Nirukta*, which had been destroyed.”

⁶⁰ Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders *xayo* by “king.” Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words *bṛihaṇ xayaḥ*

*tvām śardho madati anu mārutam | 10. Tvām vṛishā janānām māt-
hishthaḥ Indra jājñishe | satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhishe |*

8. "Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown. The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Vishṇu, the high ruler, Mitra, and Varuṇa celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows thee with exultation. 10. Thou, Indra, hast been born the greatest fertilizer of beings; thou hast made all things altogether prolific."

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—*Te no nāvam urushyata divā-naktam sudānaveṣ |
arishyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi | 12. Aghnate Vishṇave vayam ariṣh-
yantaḥ sudānave | śrudhi svayāvan sindho pūrva-chittaye | 13. (Nir. v. 1)
Tad vāryam vṛinīmahe varishṭham gopayatyam | Mitro yat pānti
Varuṇo yad Aryamā | 14. Uta naḥ sindhur apām tad Marutas tad
Aśvinā | Indro Vishṇur mīdhvāmsaḥ sajoshasaḥ |*

"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard⁵¹ night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishṇu. Listen, o self-moving ocean, to our early hymn. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mittra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishṇu, the beneficent, associated together, [bestow] that."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—*Ā prayāta Maruto Vishṇo Aśvinā Pūshan
mākinayā dhiyā | Indra āyātu prathamāḥ sanishyubhir vṛishā yo
vṛittrahā grīṇe |* "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishṇu, Aśvins, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire to honour him, as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛittra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishṇu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described :

R. V. viii. 29, 1 ff.—*Babhrur eko vishuṇaḥ sūnaro yuvā añjī aṅkte
hiraṇyayaṁ | 2. Yonim eka ā sasāda dyotano antar deveshu medhiraḥ |*

by "high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods." He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be *bṛihat-rayāḥ*, "who dwells on high."

⁵¹ Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word *nāvam* is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root *nu*, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as *nāva* is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: *Induṁ nāvōḥ anūshata |* where it must mean "the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

3. *Vāśim eko bibhartti haste āyasim antar deveshu nidhruviḥ* | 4. *Vajram eko bibhartti haste āhitam tena vṛittrāṇi jighnate* | 5. *Tigmam eko bibhartti haste āyudham śuchir ugro jalāsha-bheshajaḥ* | 6. *Patha ekaḥ pipāya taskaro yathā esha veda nidhīnām* | 7. *Trīṇi eka urugāyo vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti* | 8. *Vibhir dvā charataḥ ekayā saha pra pravāsā iva vasataḥ* | 9. *Sado dvā chakrāte upamā divi saṃrājā sarpir-āsuti* | 10. *Archanta eko mahi sāma manvata tena sūryam arochayan* |

"One⁵³ is a youth, brown, [now] hostile, [now] friendly. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another,⁵⁴ luminous, has seated himself on the place of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another⁵⁴ holds in his hand an iron axe, firmly placed amid the gods. 4. Another⁵⁵ holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he burns to slay his enemies. 5. Another,⁵⁶ bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another⁵⁷ occupies the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,⁵⁸ wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others]⁵⁹ ride on horses with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],⁶⁰ the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some [of us], worshipping, have meditated the great *sāma*-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine."

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—*Ā śarma parvatānām vṛiṇīmahe nadīnām ā Vishṇoḥ sachā-bhuvāḥ* | "We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishṇu who is associated with them."

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—*Agninā Indreṇa Varuṇena Vishnuna Ādityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiḥ sachā-bhuvā* | *sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha somam pibatam Āśvinā* | 14. *Āgirasvantā uta Vishnucantā Marutvantā jaritūr gachhatho havam ityādī* | "Āśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, the Adityas, Rudra, the Vasus,

⁵³ Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, *Marud-gaṇa*, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet *bābhru*, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

⁵⁴ Agni, according to the commentator. *Ātra yonim iti līngād Agnir uchyate* |

⁵⁵ Tvāshṭri.

⁵⁶ Indra.

⁵⁷ Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet *jalāsha-bheshaja* is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called *jalāsha*, "healing."

⁵⁸ Pūshan.

⁵⁹ Vishṇu.

⁶⁰ The Āśvins. The goddess is *Ushas*, the dawn.

⁶⁰ Mitra and Varuṇa.

and associated with Ushas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishṇu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—*Viśvā it tā Viṣṇur ābharad urukramas teṣā ishitaḥ | śatam mahishān xīra-pākam odanāṁ varāham Indra emuṣham |* "The wide-striding Viṣṇu, urged by thee, o Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog."

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7), in which Viṣṇu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 70.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—*Adhi na Indra eṣhām Viṣṇo saṁjātyānām | itā Maruto Aśvinā |* "Remember, Indra, Viṣṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—*Sutā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somā arshanti Viṣṇave |* "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Viṣṇu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—*Suta Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Viṣṇave |* "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Viṣṇu."

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—*Tvam Indrāya Viṣṇave svādur Indo pari srata | nṛṇā stotṛiṇ pāhi amhasaḥ |* "Indu, do thou flow sweet to Indra, to Viṣṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—*Suta Indrāya Viṣṇave somaḥ kalāṣe axarat | madhumān astu Vāyave |* "The soma flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Viṣṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu."

R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Āpsā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Viṣṇave |* "Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Viṣṇu."

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Viṣṇum | matsi śarddho Mārutam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo madāya |* "Soma, Indu, purifier, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Viṣṇu, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts,

thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry."

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—*Somaḥ pavate janitā matinām janitā divo janitā prithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Vishnoḥ* | "Soma purifies, [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the sky, the generator of the earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Vishnu."

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa, ii. 12: *Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janitā matinām prakāśa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām divo dyotana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām prithivyā prathana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Agner gati-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Sūryasya svikaraṇa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Indrasya aiśvaryya-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Vishnor eyāpti-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātmanam | soma ātmā 'py atasmād evendriyāṇām janitā ity arthaḥ | api vā sarvābhir vibhūtibhir vibhūtata (?) ātmā ity ātma-gatim āchashṭe* | "Soma purifies. Soma is sūrya (the sun), from generating (*prasavanāt*). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the sky, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (*svikaraṇa*); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vishnu, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations."

R. V. ix. 100, 6 (=S. V. ii. 366).—*Pavasva vāja-sātamah pavitre dhārayā sutah | Indrāya Soma Vishnave devobhyo madhumattamah* | "Soma, purify, dispenser of much food, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Vishnu, for the gods, most honied."

R. V. x. 1, 3.—*Vishnur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bṛhann abhi pāti tritīyam | āsā yaś asya payo akrata svam sachetaso abhi archanti atra* | "Vishnu, the great being, knowing thus his (Agni's)

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—*Mama devā vihave santu sarve Indravanto Maruto Vishṇur Agnir ityādi* | “May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṇu, Agni,” etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—*Somañ rājānam avase 'gniṃ gīrbhir havāmahe*⁶² | *Ādityān Vishṇuṃ Sūryam brahmāṇaṇcha Bṛihaspatim* | . . . 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) *Aryamaṇam Bṛihaspatim Indraṃ dānāya chodaya* | *Vātaṃ Vishṇuṃ Sarasvatīm Savitāraṇcha vājinam* | “We invoke with hymns king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and the priest⁶³ Bṛihaspati. 5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛihaspati, Indra to generosity, and Vāta, Vishṇu, Sarasvatī, and Savitri, giver of food.”

R. V. x. 181, 1.—*Prathascha yasya Saprathascha nāma ānushṭubhasya haviṣo havir yat* | *Dhātur dyutānāt Savituṣcha Vishṇoḥ rathan-taram ā jabhārā Vasishṭhaḥ* | 2. *Avindan te atihitaṃ yad āsīd yajñasya dhāma paramaṃ guhā yat* | *Dhātur dyutānād Savituṣcha Vishṇor Bharadvāja bṛihad ā chakre Agneḥ* | 3. *Tv'indan manasā dīdhyaṇā yajuh śhannam prathamaṃ devayānam* | *Dhātur dyutānād Savituṣcha Vishṇor ā Sūryād abharan gharmam etc* |

“Vasishtha has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and from Vishṇu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and from Vishṇu, the Bṛihad of Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishṇu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharma.

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 525, 5).—*Vishṇur yoniṃ kalpayatu Tvashṭā rapāṇi piṃśatu* | *ā siñchatu Prajāpatir Dhātā garbhaṃ dadhātu te* | “Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvastṛi mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātṛi form the embryo.”

⁶² The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads *ancvārabhāmahe* instead of *gīrbhir havāmahe*.

⁶³ I hesitate to regard the word *brahman* here as designating the god of that name.

CHAP. II.—*Some of the positions occupied by Vishnu in the hymns of the Rig-veda as compared with other deities.*

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishnu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above, p. 55 ff.) I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Śaṅkara and Anantashāstri, on the character of Vishnu. The former regards him as a god who, in his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vīrya in the atmosphere and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Anantashāstri, on the other hand, interprets Vishnu's three strides as the rising, the noon, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4 ff.; vi. 49, 15; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. i. 1, 5; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 57, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet "wide-stepping," or "wide-striding," is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god's station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishnu as taking vast strides. Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishnu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun and the dawn; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received the homage of Varuna; and in R. V. vii. 99, 2, to be beyond mortal comprehension. The attributes ascribed to Vishnu in some of these passages are such that, if these hymns stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Vishnu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Vishnu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in two other texts (R. V. viii. 15, 9, and x. 113, 2) Vishnu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishnu is said to have been generated by Soma.

It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Viṣṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Viṣṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Rishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Viṣṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to shew that, in the Rig-veda, Viṣṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Viṣṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.

R. V. i. 7, 3—*Indro dīrghāya chaxase ā sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādi* | “Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar,” etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— *ayachyathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryaṁ dṛiṣe* | 12. *Tram asya pāre rajaso vyomanah svabhūty-ōjāḥ avase dhrishan-manah | chakrishe bhūmim pratimānam ojaso 'paḥ svaḥ paribhūr eshi ā divam* | 13. *Tram bhuvah pratimānam prithivyā rishva-vīrasya brīhataḥ patir bhūḥ | viśvam āprā antariṣam mahitvā satyam addhā nakir anyas tvāvān* | 14. *Na yasya dyāvā-prithivī anu vyacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānaśuḥ | nota sva-vṛishṭim made asya yudhyata eko anyach chakrishe viśvam ānushak* |

“Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the

further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart⁶⁴ of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled⁶⁵ the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.⁶⁶ 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain; thou alone hast made everything else in due succession."

R. V. i. 55, 1.—*Divaś chid asya varimā vi papratho Indram na mahnā prithivī chana prati* | "His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—*Asya id eva praririche mahitvām divas prithivyāḥ pari antarixāt ityādi* | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

R. V. i. 81, 5.—*Ā paprau pāthivām rajo badbadhe rochanā divi | na tvān Indra kśchana na jāto na janishyate ati viśvām vavaxitha* | "He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe."

R. V. i. 102, 8.—*Trivishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nṛpate trīni rochanā | ati idam viśvam bhuvanam vavaxitha āsatrur Indra janushā sanād asi* | "The three worlds, o king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy."⁶⁷

R. V. i. 103, 2.—*Sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathachecha vajrena hatvā nīr apaḥ sasarijā | ahann Ahim ityādi* | "He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi," etc.

⁶⁴ Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word *pratimāna* also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the Second Part of this work, p. 378.

⁶⁵ Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

⁶⁶ Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).

⁶⁷ Compare R. V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

R. V. i. 121, 2.—*Stambhid hā dyām ityādi* | 3. . . . *tastambhad dyām chatushpade naryāya dvipade* | “He has supported the sky, etc. 3. . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man.”

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—*Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūṣhat*⁶⁶ | *Yasya śuśmād rodasī abhyasetām nṛṣimṇasya mahnā sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 2. *Yaḥ prithivīm vyathamānām adṛṣṭhād yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt* | *yo antariṣam vimame vāriyo yo dyām astabhṇāt sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 9. . . . *Yo viśvasya pratimānam babhūva yo achyuta-chyut sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 13. *Dyāvā chid asmai prithivī namete śuśmāch chid asya parvatūḥ bhayante ityādi* |

“He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, o men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains; who measured⁶⁶ the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, o men, is Indra. 9. . . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unshaken, he, o men, is Indra. . . . The sky and the earth bow down to him; at his might the mountains are afraid,” etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—*Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karaṇāni voḥam* | *trikadrakeshu apibat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghāna* | 2. *Atamse dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam ā rodasī aprīṇad antariṣam* | *sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathachcha somasya tā made Indras chakūra* | 3. *Sadmeva prācho vimamāya mūnair vajreṇa khāni atṛīṇad nadinām ityādi* |

“I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. At the trikadraka festival Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty

⁶⁶ *Kratunā karmaṇā paryabhavat pāryagṛhṇāt paryaraxad atyākṛmad vā* *nṛṣimṇasya mahnā balasya mahattvena*.—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: *iti rishir dṛṣṭārthasya prītir bhavaty ākhyāna-sāmyuktā* | “Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative.”

⁶⁷ Compare R. V. i. 164, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above p. 59 ff.; and R. V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 96).

space;⁷⁰ he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He hath meted with his measures the eastern [regions], like a house; with his thunderbolt he has opened up the sources of the rivers," etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—*Nī sāmānām ishirām Indra bhūmim mahīm apārāṇ sadane sasattha | astabhnād dyām ṛṣishabho antariṣam arshantu āpaḥ trayeḥa prasūtāḥ* | "Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the moving,⁷¹ earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee."

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—*Yajāma id namasā ṛiddham Indram brīhantem ṛishram ajaram yurānam | yasya priye mamatur yajñiyasya na rodasi mahimānam mamāte* | 8. *Indrasya karma sukṛitā purāṇi vratāni deva na minanti riṣe | dādāhā yaḥ prithirīm dyām utemām jajāna sūryam uśhasāṁ sudamāsāḥ* | 9. *Adrogha satyaṁ tava tad mahitraṁ sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somaṁ | na dyāva Indra tarasas te ojo nāhā na māsāḥ śarado varanta*⁷² |

"Let us worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved⁷³ worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being.⁷⁴ 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou

⁷⁰ Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

⁷¹ Prof. Roth explains *ishira* as meaning "fresh," "blooming."

⁷² Compare R. V. viii. 77, 3: *Na trū brīhanto adrayo varante*.

⁷³ Sāyana explains *priye* as meaning *aparimite*, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

⁷⁴ Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root *mā* "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that *mamatur* may be the perfect of *man*, and used for *mamanatur* or *mamatur*. Compare the aorist *amata*, and *sasarūn* for *sasavārūn*; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: *Mahān asi yasya te 'nu svadhāvarī sahaḥ | mamante* *Lo'va rodasi* |

didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty.

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam prithivīm harivarpasam | adhārayad ityādi* | “Indra upheld the sky with its golden luminaries, and the earth with its verdant form,” etc.

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Vavaxe Indro amitam ṛijīshī ubhe ā prapan rodasī mahitvā | ataś chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhūva* | “The impetuous⁷⁵ Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds.”

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛittrahan | nakir eva yathā team* | “There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛittra; neither is there any like thee.”

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāprātha xām mahi daṁso vi ūrvīm upa dyām ṛishvo brihad Indra stabhāyaḥ | adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātārā yaḥvī ṛitasya* | “Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily (?) propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, the productions of the gods, the ancient and mighty parents of sacrifice.”

R. V. vi. 30, 4.—*Satyam it tad na tvāvān anyo asti Indra devo na martyo jyāyān ityādi* | “This is a truth, there is no other, god or mortal, like thee, Indra, or greater than thee,” etc.

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—*Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viśvā achyutā chit chyāvayante rajāṁsi | dyāvā-xāmā parvatāso vanāni viśvān dṛiḥham bhayate ajmann ā te* | “Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, begin to totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming.”

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Tām vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anāshi arkair ityādi* | “I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying.”

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—*Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahitvā ā paprātha tu-eishibhis tuvishmah ityādi* | “Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds,” etc.

⁷⁵ See Bochtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *ṛijīshin*, and Benfey's note 263, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his “Orient and Occident.” The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S. V., p. 162.

R. V. vii. 82, 16.—*Tava id Indra acamañ casu tram pushyasi na-
āhyamanā kṣīrā rutanasya paramasya rājasi nakṣī trā goṣhu rigrate |*
... 22. *Abhi trā fūra nomamañ adugdhāñ iva dhenavañ | īśānam
asya jagatāñ svarāṣṭisam īśānam Indra tathushañ* 23. *Na tvācān anyo
detyo na yātīhate na jātī na janīhysate ityādi*⁷⁶ .

"Thine, o Indra, is the lowest wealth: thou sustainest the middle; thou rulest over all the very highest; no one resists thee among the cows. . . . 22. We, o heroic Indra, like un milked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee."

R. V. vii. 98, 3 = A. V. 20, 87, 3'.— *Ā Indra paprātha
ura antarīkṣam yudhā deredhyo varivāś chakartha* | "Indra, thou
hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired ample space
for the gods."⁷⁷

R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938'.—*Indro mahnā rodasī paprathach
chharañ Indrāñ sūryam arocayat* . *Indro ha viśā bhuranāni yemire
ityādi* . "The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two
worlds: Indra has lighted up the Sun: in Indra all the worlds are
contained," etc."⁷⁸

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—*Abhrātprīyo
anā tram anāpīr Indra janushā sanād asi | yudhā id āpitram icchasa* |
"Indra, by thy nature, thou art of old without a rival, without a
fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance."

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—*Janitū diro janitū prithiryañ ityādi* | "Generator
of the sky, generator of the earth," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—*Ekarāḍ asya bhuranasya rājasi ityādi* | "Thou
rulest a sole monarch over this world," etc. (Indra).

⁷⁶ This entire hymn is translated in Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 543 ff.

⁷⁷ The words at the close of this verse occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to *varivāś*, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: *amhoñ rājan varivāś Pūruve kañ* | "Thou affordedst relief to Pūru from his strait." The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, *varivāśi kṛiṇyan*. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean "wealth."

⁷⁸ In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: *asyed Indro vāridhe vṛiṣṇyañ śaro made sutasya vishnavi*; "Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the penetrating exhilaration of this soma." *Vishnavi*, the word here rendered "penetrating," is the locative case of *vishnu*. The commentator of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by *sarva-śarīra-ryūpake*, "That which pervades the whole body." Sāyana, too, makes it = *kṛitana-dhanya ryūpake* |

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—*Ayujō asamo nṛībhīr ekaḥ kṛīṣhtīr ayāsyāḥ | pūrvīr ati pravāṛīdhe viśvā jātāny ojasū ityādi* | “Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power former generations,⁷⁹ and all creatures.”

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—*Yad dyāva Indra te śataṁ śatam bhūmīr uta syuḥ | na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātam aśṭa rodasi* | “If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could the two worlds attain to thee, when thou hadst been born.”

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Pariśiṣṭa i. 1, ff: *Athemā atistutaya ity āchaxate 'pi vā sampratya eva syād mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ* | . . *Yadi te Indra śataṁ divaḥ śatam bhūmayāḥ pratimānāni syur na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ api sūryā na dyāvā-prithivyāvo apy abhyaśnuvitām iti* | “Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity.” Then, after citing passages referring to Agni and Varuṇa, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: “If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, o thunderer, nor heaven and earth can equal thee.”

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—*Naktm Indro nikarttave na Sakraḥ pariśaktave viśvaṁ śṛṇoti paśyati* | “Indra is not to be overcome, Śakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things.”⁸⁰

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Yoddhā 'si kratvā śavasota daṁṣanā viśvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam arka ūtaye ravarttati yaṁ Gotamā ajījanan* | 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) *Pra hi ririxo ojasū divo antebhyas⁸¹ pari | na tvā vīryācha raja Indra pārthivam anu svadhām varaxitha* |

“A warrior, thou surpasses all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed

⁷⁹ Dr. Anfrecht explains *pūrvīḥ kṛīṣhtīḥ* of the races of gods anterior to Indra, the latter deity, like Jupiter, belonging to a recent generation of divinities. See Prof. Roth's articles on the “principal gods of the Arian nations,” in the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

⁸⁰ This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeits. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.

⁸¹ Instead of *antebhyas* the S. V. reads *sadobhyas*.

the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will."⁸¹

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—*Yaj jāyathā apūrvya Maghava Vṛittra-hatyāya | tat prithivīm aprathayas tad astabhnā uta dyām | 6. Tat te yajño ajāyata tad arka uta haskṛitiḥ | tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yoj jātaṁ yachcha jantvam* |⁸²

"When thou, o unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛittra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, and shall be born."

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—*Yasya te nū chid ādiśaṁ na minanti svarājyaṁ na devo na adhrigur janah* | "Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist."

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—*Na tvā devāsa āsata na martyāso adrivaḥ | viśvā jātāni śavasā abhibhūr asi ityādi* | 10. (S. V. i. 370): *Viśvāḥ pritanā abhibhūtaram naraṁ*⁸⁴ *śajās tataxur Indraṁ jajanuś cha rājase | krataḥ varishṭaṁ vare*⁸⁵ *āmurim utogram ojishṭhaṁ tavasam*⁸⁶ *tarasvinam* |

"Thee, o hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have overcome. Thou transcendest in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power to bless (?), destroyer, fierce, strong, vigorous, and swift."

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—*Tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvam sūryam arochayaḥ | viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi* | "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all."

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—*Kṛitaṁ na śvaghnī vichinoti devane saṁvargaṁ yad Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat | na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na purāṇo Maghavan na uta nūtanaḥ* | "When Maghavan

⁸¹ At the end of the verse the S. V. reads *ati viśvam vavariṭha* | "Thou hast transcended the universe." On the sense of *svadhā*, see Roth, *Illust. of Nir.* pp. 40 f. and 135.

⁸² Compare the words *yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhōvyam* in the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See First Part of this work, p. 7.

⁸⁴ The Sāma-veda reads *naraḥ*.

⁸⁵ The Sāma-veda reads *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*.

⁸⁶ The Sāma-veda reads *tarasaṁ*.

has conquered spoils⁸⁷ from the sun, he is like a gamester who distributes his gains at play.⁸⁸ No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can equal thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—*Mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram ataxad āyasaṁ mayi devāso asrijann api kratum | mama anīkaṁ sūryasya iva dustaram mām āryanti kṛitena kartvena cha |* "Tvastṛi fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

R. V. x. 86, 1 (=A. V. xx. 126, 1).— . . . *viśvasmād Indrah uttaraḥ |* (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) "Indra is superior to every other."

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manīṣināḥ pra bharadhvam manīṣāṁ yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛinām | Indram satyair erayāmā kṛitebhiḥ sa hi viro girvanasyur vidānaḥ |* 2. *Ṛitasya hi sadaso dhītir adyaut saṁ gārshṭeḥyo vṛishabho gobhir ānaḥ | ud atishṭhat tavishena ravena mahānti chid saṁviryāchā rajāṁsi |* 3. *Indrah kila śrutyai asya veda sa hi jishnuḥ pathikṛit sūryāya | ād menām kṛinvann achyuto bhuvaḥ goḥ patir divaḥ sanajā apratitaḥ |* 4. *Indro mahnā mahato arnavasya vratā aminād Angirobhir grinānaḥ | purūṇi chid nī tatāna rajāṁsi dādharma yo dharuṇaṁ satyatātā |* 5. *Indro divaḥ pratimānam prithivyā viśvā veda savanā hanti Sushnam | mahim chid dyām ā atanot sūryeṇa chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyān |*

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us by our sincere rites bring hither Indra, for he is a hero, he loves our hymns, and he is wise. 2. The intelligent [god] has shone forth from the abode of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has pervaded the vast regions. 3. Indra surely knows the fame of this. For

⁸⁷ Sāyana explains *saṁvargam* as = *saṁyag vṛishṭer varjayitūram |* "discharger of rain." The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: *saṁvargam saṁ rayiṁ jaya |* and he adds that the translation "spoils" is supported by several passages of the S. P. Br. e.g. i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pītur dāyam upayūḥ . . . katham ne imam api saṁvērūjīmahī* (Schol. *apaharemahī*). Ibid. *saṁvērūjāta, saṁvērūkte*. S. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *sarvaṁ yajñāṁ saṁvērūya* (= *saṁvōpti-pūrvaṁ saṁhṛitya*). In the R. V. Indra is called *samerik samatsu* "the spoiler in battles."

⁸⁸ The same comparison occurs in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 7.

he, victorious, immoveable, forming a path for the sun, and creating the female of a bull (?), became, in consequence, the eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra has destroyed the labours of the great streaming [cloud-demon];⁸⁹ he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation by truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all sacrifices, slays Sushna; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support."⁹⁰

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—*Tvaṁ sindhūn avāṣṛijāḥ adharācho aham Ahiṁ | asātrur Indra jajñishe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi* | "Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe; thou possessest all that is desirable," etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—*Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprāthas ushā iva | mahāntaṁ tvā mahināṁ samrājāṁ charshaninām | devī janitri ajñjanad bhadrā janitri ajñjanat*⁹¹ | "When thou, Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee."

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another god:

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—*Indrā-Somā vāsayaṥa ushāsam ut sūryaṁ nayatḥa jyotiṣhā saha | upa dyāṁ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathamam prithivīm mātaraṁ vi* | "Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to appear, ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky with a support,⁹² ye have spread out the earth, the mother."

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—*Indrā-Varuṇā yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanā ityādi* | "Indra and Varuṇa, since ye have made all these creatures of the world by your power," etc.

⁸⁹ That this is the allusion in the word *arṇava*, is shewn by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—*Indro mahnā mahato arṇavasga vi mūrdhānam abhinad Arbudasya ityādi* | "Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda," etc.

⁹⁰ Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.

⁹¹ The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.

⁹² Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa :

R. V. i. 24, 8.—*Uruṁ hi rajā Varuṇas chakāra sūryāya panthām anu-etavai u ityādi* | “King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow,” etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—*Tvaṁ viśveshām Varuṇāsi rājā yo cha devā asura yo cha maritāḥ* | “Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those who are gods, and of those who are men.”—Quoted in Müller’s *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—*Ghṛitavati bhuvanānām abhiśriyā ūrvī prithivī madhu-dughe supesāsā | dyāvā-prithivī Varuṇasya dharmanā viśhkaḥite ajare bhūri-retasā* | “Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures, wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth are held asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant in fertility.”

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—*Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūṁshi vi yas tastambha rodasī chid ūrvī | pra nākam risheṣāṁ nunude bṛihantaṁ dvitā nazatram paprathach cha bhūma* | “Wise are his creations who by his power propped asunder the two vast worlds. He raised up the high and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth.”—This hymn is translated in Müller’s *Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Radat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāṁsi samudriyā nadinām | sargo na sṛishṭo arcatir ritāyen chakāra mahir avanir ahabhyaḥ* | 2. *Ātmā te vāto raja ā navinot paśur na bhūrṇir yavase sasavān | antar mahī bṛihatī rodasīme viśvā te dhāma Varuṇa priyāni* |

“Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the aerial courses of the rivers. Like a troop of horses let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind is thy breath, which has agitated the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast grazing in a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, o Varuṇa, are beloved [or, unlimited].”⁹³

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—*Astabhnād dyām Asuro viśvavedā amimita vari-mānam prithivyāḥ | āsidad viśvā bhuvanāni samrād viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni* | 2. *Evā vandasvā Varuṇam bṛihantaṁ namasyā dhīram amṛitasya gopām | sa naḥ śarma trivarūtham viyaṁsad ityādi* |

“The omniscient Spirit (*Asura*) has propped up the sky; he has

⁹³ See note on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above.

measured⁹⁴ the expanse of the earth; he has pervaded all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he impart to us triple prosperity," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (Sūrya, Aditya, or Savitṛi):

R. V. i. 50, 7.—*Fi dyām ahi rajas pritho ahā mimāno aktubhīḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya* | "Thou traverses the sky, the broad expanse, measuring (forming?) the days with thy rays; beholding created things, o Sun."

R. V. i. 160, 4.—*Ayaṁ devānām apasām opastamo yo jāyāna rodasi viśvasāmbhūvā | vi yo mame rajasi sukratūyayā ajarebhiḥ skambhanebhiḥ samāuriche* | "He, the most active of the active gods, who produced the heaven and earth which are beneficent to all; who from a desire to benefit [men] measured (constructed?) the worlds, with their undecaying supports,—he has been lauded [by us]."⁹⁵

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—*Bad mahān asi Sūrya bad Aditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate addhā deva mahān asi | Bad Sūrya śrutasā mahān asi satrā deva mahān asi | mahā devānām asuryaḥ purohito vibhu jyotir adābhyam* |

"Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Aditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: o god, thou art very great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary."

R. V. x. 149, 1.—*Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramṇād askambhams Savitā dyām adṛimhat | āsvam iva adhuxad dhunim antarixam atūrtite baddhaṁ Savitā samudram* | 2. *Yatra samudraḥ skabhito vi-aunad apān napāt Savita tasya veda | ato bhūr ata ā utthitāṁ rajo ato dyāvā-pri-thivī aprathetām* |

"Savitṛi has established the earth by supports; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in unsupported space;⁹⁶ Savitṛi has milked the atmosphere,

⁹⁴ See above, p. 61.

⁹⁵ See R. V. x. 111, 5, and vi. 72, 2.

⁹⁶ In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent Śeṣha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishnu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, p. 206): *Sa bibhrat śekharibhūtam aśeṣhaṁ ziti-maṇḍalam | āste pātāla-mūla-sthaḥ Śeṣho 'śeṣha-surārçhitāḥ* | "Śeṣha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth like a diadem, and is

restless (or noisy) as a horse, [or, Savitṛi has extracted from the atmosphere the ocean, etc., restless as a horse],—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitṛi, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended."

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: *Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramayāt | anāra-sabhaṇe* 'ntarize *Savitā dyām adṛīmhad āsvam iva adhudad dhunim antarize megham baddham atūrtte baddham atūrṇe iti vā 'tvaramāṇe iti vā Savitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avasyat | Ādityo 'pi Savitā uehyate.* "Savitri by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitri has fixed the sky like a horse in the place which has no resting place (?)—the atmosphere. Savitri has milked the watery cloud fastened in the atmosphere, the impassable, or the unhastening. What other god than the intermediate one (*i.e.* the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitri."

the foundation of Pātāla." The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-Siromaṇi, iii. 2: *Bhūmeḥ pinḍaḥ śaśāṅka-jña-kavi-ravi-kujejyārki-naxatra-kazā-vṛittair vṛitaḥ san mṛid-anila-salila-vyoma-tejomayo'yam | nānyādhāraḥ sva-śaktyaiva viyati niyatām tiṣṭhati ityādi | . . . 4. Mūrtto dhartā ched dharitṛyās tad-anyaś tasyāpyanyo 'nyaivam atrāṇaḥasthā | antye kalpyā chet sva-śaktiḥ kim ādye kim na bhūmīr ityādi |* which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13: "2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the æther, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danujas and human beings, gods and Daityas." . . . "4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, *i.e.* of Śiva?" Aryya Bhatta, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392) are these: *Bha-panjaraḥ sthīro bhūr ecāvṛityāveṛiṭya prāṭidaivasikāu udayāstamayau sampādayati naxatra-grahāṇām |* "The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets."

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse : "Savitri has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed." (In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to *dhuni* the sense of "sounding.") He then observes: "According to Yāska the Savitri who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain."

The following passages refer to Agni :

R. V. i. 59, 5.—*Divaś chit te bṛihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kṛishṭinām asi mānushīnām yudhā devebhyo varicāś chakartha |* "Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained an ample space for the gods."

R. V. i. 67, 3.—*Ajo na xām dādharma prithivīm tastambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyair ityādi |* "Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true hymns," etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya :

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—*Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tistro dyāvas tredhā sasrur āpa ityādi |* 6. *Sa retodhā vṛishabhaḥ śaśvatīnām tasmīn ātmā jagataś tastushaścha |* (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1). "He in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all the cows : in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world."

This next passage refers to the god called Gandharva :

R. V. x. 139, 5.—. . . *Divyo Gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ |* "The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world," etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma :

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (=S. V. 1, 484).—*Pavamāno ajījanad divaś chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat |* "The purifier [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky."

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—*Tavemāḥ prajā divyasya retasas tvaṁ viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasi | athedaṁ viśvam pavamāna te vaśe team Indo prathamam dhāmadhā asi |* 29. *Tvaṁ samudro asi viścavit kave tavemāḥ pañcha pradīśo vidharmāni | tvaṁ dyām cha prithivīm chāti jabhrishe tava*

jyotiṃshi pavamāna sūryaḥ | 30. *Tvam pavitre rajaso vidharmanī devebhyaḥ soma pavamāna pūyase* | *tvām Uśijāḥ prathamā agribhṇata tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire* |

"All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purifier, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. Thou, sage, art an omniscient ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast transcended the sky and the earth; thine, o purifier, are the luminaries and the sun. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uśijes first gathered thee. In thee all these worlds are contained."

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—*Viṣṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ prithivyā viśvā uta xitayo haste asya ityādi* | "He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand."

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 81), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—*Pavitrebhiḥ pavamāno nrichazāḥ rājā devānām uta marttyānām ityādi* | "[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods, and of mortals," etc.

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—*Pavamāna mahi śravaś chitrebhir yāsi raśmibhiḥ*⁹⁷ | *śarddhan taṃāṃsi jighnase viśvāni dāsusho grihe* | 9. *tvām dyāṃ cha mahierata prithiviṃ chāti jabhrishe ityādi* | "Thou, pure [Soma], marchest onward to great renown, by thy varied rays; daring, thou wilt destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever of great deeds, hast transcended heaven and earth," etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.—. . . *tvām kavir abhavo deva-vītamaḥ ā sūryaṃ rohayo divi* | "Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast caused the sun to rise in the sky."

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—*Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ pītā devānām viśvā abhi dhāma* | "Purify all abodes, Soma, [who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods," etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishnu is not the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit*

⁹⁷ Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: *Sanā cha Soma jeshī cha pavamāna mahi śravaḥ* | and ix. 83, 5: *Jayan śravo bṛihat* |

Literature (p. 532 f.) shews that all the principal Vedic deities are, in their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme :

“When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. ‘Among you, o gods, there is none that is small, none that is young : you are all great indeed,’⁹⁸ is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and no where is any of the gods represented as the slave of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,⁹⁹ the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;¹⁰⁰ nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book¹⁰¹ is : *Viśvasmād Indra uttarah* | ‘Indra is greater than all.’ Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.¹⁰² He is called the king of the world,¹⁰³ he has the power to prolong the life of men,¹⁰⁴ and in one sense he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu.¹⁰⁵ If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa

⁹⁸ R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.

⁹⁹ “*Teaṁ viśvāni svaṇika patyase* | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Pariśiṣṭa i.

¹⁰⁰ ii. 1, 9.

¹⁰¹ x. 8, 6.

¹⁰² ix. 59.

¹⁰³ ix. 96, 10 : *bhuvanasya rājā*.

¹⁰⁴ ix. 96, 14.

¹⁰⁵ ix. 96, 5.

(*obparós*), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mittra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mittra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.' Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), 'Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,' etc., etc.

SECT. III.—*Vishṇu as one of the Ādityas.*

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Vishṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.¹⁰⁶ The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36).—*Imā girāḥ Ādityebhyaḥ ghritasnaḥ sanād rājabyo juhvā juhomi | śrinotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tviṣāto Varuṇo Daxo Amśaḥ* | "With my tongue I offer up these praises, dropping with butter, to the Ādityas, who have been kings for ever: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daxa, Anśa, hear us." Yāska makes *tviṣātaḥ* to be=*bahujātaś cha Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhātṛi.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Sapta diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāra ritvijāḥ | devā Ādityā ye sapta tebhīḥ Somābhiraxa naḥ* | "The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven *hotṛi* priests, and the seven gods, the Ādityas,—with these, o Soma, protect us."

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 10 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārttāṇḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Sāyaṇa observes of the Ādityas: *Te cha Tvittirīye 'ashtaṁ*

¹⁰⁶ See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Āditya*: and Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Ādityas in his paper "on the principal gods of the Arian nations," *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called *Āditya* in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).

putrāṣo Aditer' ity upakramya spashṭam anukrāntāḥ | 'Mitraścha Varuṇaścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Aṁśuścha Bhagaścha Indraścha Vivasvāścha ete' iti | "They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittiriya, beginning with the words 'The eight sons of Aditi,' as 'these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.'"

In a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 12, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*Sa manasaiva vācham mīhunam samabharat sa dvādaśa dropsān garbhya abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityā asriyyanta tān divy upādadhāt |* "With his mind he [entered] Speech. There became a pair. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the sky."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ar. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityā iti | dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya ete Ādityāḥ | ete hi idāṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti | te yad idāṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti tasmād Ādityā iti |* "How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go taking (ādadānāḥ) all this. Since they go taking all this, they are called Ādityas."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, speaks thus of the Ādityas: *Ādityāḥ | kasmād ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotishāṁ | ādīpto bhāsa iti vā | Aditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayerogaṁ tu asya etad ārechābhyāmnāye sūkta-bhāḥ "sūryam āditeyam" Aditeḥ putram | evam anyāsām api devatānām Āditya-pravādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryamṇo Daxasya Bhagasya Aṁśasya iti |*

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids.¹⁰⁷ He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (ādīptoḥ) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom

¹⁰⁷ *Sahasra-guṇam utsrasṭum ādatte hi rasān raviḥ |* "For the sun takes up the fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvansa, i. 18. *Ashṭau māsān yathā "dityas toyaṁ harati rasībhiḥ | tathā harat karaṁ rāśīrūd nityam evakavratam hi tat |* "As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function."—Manu, ix. 305.

applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. *Sūrya Āditeya*, Surya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.¹⁰⁸ In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Daxa, Bhaga, Anśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the Ādityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Viṣṇu is always named as one of them, and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imāḥ prajāḥ | prajāñīre mahābhāgā Daxa-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . 2,522. Adityāṃ dvādaśādityāḥ sambhūtā bhuvaneśvarāḥ | yo rājan nāmataḥ tāṃs te kīrttayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro'ryamā Śakro Varuṇas to Aṃśa evacha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūṣhā cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvashṭā dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveśhām Ādityānām guṇādhipakāḥ |*

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Daxa . . . 2,522. I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Ādityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi; Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Śakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūshan, and Savitṛi the tenth; the eleventh is Tvashṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Viṣṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jajñire nṛipa-śārdūla lokānām prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . 2,600. Dvādaśaivāditeḥ putraḥ Śakra-mukhyā narādhipa | teshām avarajo Viṣṇur yatra lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |*

"From Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marīchi, were produced, o king, the deities and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all

¹⁰⁸ Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word *sūkta-bhāk* should be read *asūkta-bhāk* "has not a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21), says: *sūkta-bhāg eva chaitad abhidhānam na havirbhāk* | "This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.

pañcāś Adīter' ity upakramya spāṣṭam anukrāntāḥ | 'Mitraścha Varuṇāścha Dhātāścha Aryamāścha Anśuścha Bhagaścha Indrāścha Vasvātścha ete' iti | "They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittiriya, beginning with the words 'The eight sons of Aditi,' as 'these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vasvat.'"

In a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 12, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*So manasaiva vācāṃ mithunā samābhavat sa dvādaśa drapśān garbhya abhavat | te dvādaśa Āditya asṛjyanta tān divy upādadhāt |* "With his mind he [entered] Speech. There became a pair. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the sky."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Brh. Ar. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityā iti | dvādaśa māsaḥ samvatsarasya ete Ādityāḥ | ete hi idāṃ varcam ādadānā yanti | te yad idāṃ varcam ādadānā yanti tamād Ādityā iti |* "How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go taking (ādadānāḥ) all this. Since they go taking all this, they are called Ādityas."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, speaks thus of the Ādityas: *Ādityaḥ | kasmād ādatte ranān | ādatte bhāsaṃ jyotiṣhām | ādipto bhāsa iti vā | Adibḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayerogaṃ tu asya etad ārchābhyāmnāya vākta-āḥ | "sūryam āditeyam" Aditeḥ putram | evam anyāṣāṃ api devatānaṃ Āditya-pretvādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā | Mitraścha Varuṇāścha Aryamāścha Dazāścha Bhagaścha Anśuścha*

"The Āditya: whence [so called? — He takes up the fluids.¹⁰⁷ He takes up the light of the luminous [he is illuminated (ādityaḥ) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi]. The [appellation] is well-known."

¹⁰⁷ *Sahasra-guṇam uttrakṣṇam* fluids [from the] earth, to dī i. 18. *Aśṭau māṣān gathā-rūṣhtrāḥ nityam arkavarat* draws up water by his r for that is his continual

ādityaḥ | "For the name is a diminutive."

beings sprang. . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with Śakra. The youngest of them was Viṣṇu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—*Aṁśo Bhagaścha Mitrāścha Varuṇaścha ialeśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātā 'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaraś tathā | Trāṣṭā Pūṣhā tathāivendro dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | ity ete dvādaśā-dityāḥ Kāśyapeyā iti śrutiḥ |*

"Anśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryama, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Trāṣṭṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Viṣṇu who is called the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kāśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, śruti)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—*Asyaś chāvyayaś chaiva Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ | tathāiva bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṇāo ṛiṣhī | Ādityānām hi sarveśhām Viṣṇur ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayyaś chāvyayaś chaiva śāśvataḥ prabhur īśvaraḥ | nimitta-maraṇāś chānye chandra-sūrya-mahī-jalam | Vāyur agniś tathā "kāśām grahās tārā-gaṇās tathā | te cha xayānte jagato hitvā lokā-trayaṁ sadā | xayaṁ gachchanti vai sarve sṛjyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | mukūrtta-maraṇāś te anye mānuṣhā mṛiga-paxinaḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Ṛishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Viṣṇu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa].—¹⁰⁹ the moon, the sun, the earth, water,¹¹⁰ air, fire, the æther, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (*mukūrtta*)."

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (p. 122 of Wilson's translation)—*Pārvamānvantare śreṣṭhā dvādaśāsan surottamāḥ | Tushitā nāma te 'nyonyam ūchur Vaivasvate 'ntare | upasthite 'tiyaśasaś Chāxushasyāntare Maṇoḥ | samavāyīkrītāḥ sarve samāgamya parasparam | Āgachhata drutaṁ devāḥ Aditiṁ sampraviṣya vai | Manvantare prasūyāmas tan naḥ śreyo bhaved iti | evam ukṭvā tu te sarve Chāxushasyāntare Maṇoḥ | Mārīchāt Kāśya-*

¹⁰⁹ I suppose *nimitta-maraṇāḥ* is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, pp. 56, 630, and note. Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: *Nimittam pralayādi-nimittam maraṇam nāso yeshām te nimitta-maraṇāḥ |*

¹¹⁰ Said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 29. See also above, the order of creation described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 19-22, and in Manu, p. 26 above.

*pāj jātās te 'dityā Daxa-kanyayā | tatra Vishṇuścha Sakraścha jajñāte
punar eva hi | Aryamā chaiva Dhātācha Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaiva cha |
Vivasvān Savitā chaiva Mitro Varuṇa eva cha | Aṁśo Bhagaś chātitejā
Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chāxushasyāntare pūrvam āsan ye Tushitāḥ
smṛitāḥ | Vaivasvato 'ntare te vai Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |*

"In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and renowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chāxusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, 'Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.' Having thus spoken in the Chāxusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, and Aditi, daughter of Daxa. In this way Vishṇu, and Śakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātri, Tvashṭri, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitri, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chāxusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara."

The same story is repeated in very nearly the same words in the Harivamśa, verses 171 ff.

The following is another passage from the Harivamśa, verses 11,548 ff: *Ādityām jajñire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Vishṇur Bhagas
Tvashṭā Varuṇo 'ṁśo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūshā Mitraścha varado Manuḥ
Parjanya eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityā varishṭhās tridivaukasah |*
"From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Tvashṭri, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, Aryaman, Kavi, Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: *Aryamā Varuṇo
Mitraḥ Pūshā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvashṭā Bhago 'ṁśaḥ Savitā Par-
janyaścheti visrutāḥ | Ādityām jajñire devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanaḥ |*
"The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātri, Purandara (Indra), Tvashṭri, Bhaga, Aṁśa, Savitri, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

Only eleven names occur in this list.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Vivasvat or Mārttaṇḍa, the Sun.

Harivamśa, 589 ff.—*Tato nirbhāsitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasā saṁhatena vai | kāntāt kāntataraṁ drakṣtūm adhikaṁ śuśubhe tadā | mukhe nirvartitaṁ rūpaṁ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āsit tu lohitaṁ | mukha-rūgantū yat pūrcam Mārttaṇḍasya mukha-chyutam | Ādityā deśaśaiveha sambhūtā mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha Mitrascha Varuṇo 'mśo Bhagas tathā | Indro Vivasvān Pūshā cha Parjanyaśaśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishnur ajaghanyo jaghaṇyajaḥ | harṣhaṁ lebbe tato devo dṛiṣṭvā "dityān sva-deha-jān |* "Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārttaṇḍa were produced twelve face-born Adityas: Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭṛi, then Vishnu not the last, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body."

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Adityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. *Vivasvat* is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from *Vivasvat*; and *Tvashṭṛi* was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois's note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the *Harivamśa*). The *Vishnu Purāṇa* tells the same story about *Vivasvat*, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson's translation, p. 266).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa vi. 6, 24 f.—*S'ṛiṇu nāmāni lokāṇāṁ mātṛiṇāṁ saṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patnīnāṁ yat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | Aditir Ditiṛ ityādi | . . . 36 f. Athātaḥ śrūyatām vaṁśo yo 'diter anupūrvaśaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśenāvātaraḥ vibhuḥ | Vivasvān Aryamā Pūshā Tvashṭā 'tha Savitā Bhagah | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Mitrah Sakra Urukramah |*

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṇa descended in a part of himself,—*Vivasvat*, *Aryaman*, *Pūshan*, *Tvashṭṛi*, *Savitṛi*, *Bhaga*, *Dhātṛi*, *Vidhātṛi*, *Varuṇa*, *Mitra*, *Sakra*, *Urukrama* (the wide-strider = *Vishnu*)."

SECT. IV.—*Legends regarding Vishnu from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Pāṇchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.*

The following legend from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vishnu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of sacrifice, conquered the whole earth) may contain the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—*Devāścha vā Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspridhire | tato devā anuvyam iṣa āsur | atha ha Asurā menire 'āsmakam eva idaṁ khalu bhucanam' iti | 2. Te ha ūchur 'hanta imām prithivīm vibhajāmahai tām vibhajya upajivāma' iti | tām auzṇaiś charmabhiḥ paśchāt prāñcho vibhajamānā abhīyuh | 3. Tad vai devāḥ śuśrucur 'vibhajante ha vai imām Asurāḥ prithivīm preta tad eśhyāmo yatra imām Asurā vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi' iti | te yajñam eva Viṣṇum puraskṛitya īyuh | 4. Te ha ūchuh 'anu no 'syām prithivyām ābhajata astv eva no 'py asyām bhāgaḥ' iti | te 'surāḥ asūyanta iṣa ūchur 'yāvad eva eṣa Viṣṇur abhiśete tāvad vo dād-maḥ' iti | 5. Vāmano ha Viṣṇur āsa | tad devā na jihīdire 'mahad vai no 'dur ye no yajña-sammitam adur' iti | 6. Te prāñchaṁ Viṣṇum nīpādya chhandobhir abhitaḥ paryagrihṇan 'gāyatrena tvā chhandasā parigrih-nāmi' iti dazinatas | 'traishṭubhena tvā chhandasā parigrihṇāmi' iti paśchāt | 'jāgatena tvā chhandasā parigrihṇāmi' iti uttarataḥ | 7. Tām chhandobhir abhitaḥ parigrihya agnim purastāt samādhāya tena arehan-taḥ śrāmyantaś cheruh | tena imām sarvām prithivīm samavindanta | tad yad onena (anena?) imām sarvām samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur 'yāvatī vedis tāvatī prithivī' iti | etayā hi imām sarvām samavindanta | evaṁ ha vai imām sarvām sapatnānām saṁ-eripṅkte nirbhajaty asyai sapatnān yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So 'yam Viṣṇur glānaś chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakra-manam āsa | sa tata eva ośadhīnām mūlāny upa mumlocha | 9. Te ha devāḥ ūchuh 'kva nu Viṣṇur abhāt kva nu yajño 'bhūd' iti | te ha ūchyāḥ 'chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramanam asty atraiva anvichhata iti tām kṣananta iṣa anvīshus tām tryaṅgule*

the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, *Pāñchi*¹¹² made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

The next legend from the same work relates how Vishnu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—*Devā ha vai sattraṁ nishedur Agnir Indrah Somo Makho Vishnur visve-devā anyatraiva Āsvibhyām* | 2. *Teshāṁ Kuruzetraṁ devayajanam āsa | tasmād āhuḥ 'Kuruzetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanam' iti | tasmād yatra kva cha Kuruzetrasya nigachhati tad eva manyate 'idaṁ devayajanam' iti tad hi devānāṁ devayajanam* | 3. *Te āsata | 'śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma' iti tatho eveme sattram āsate 'śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma' iti* | 4. *Te ha ūchur 'yo naḥ śrameṇa tapasā śraddhayā yajñena āhutibhir yajñasya udricam pūrvo 'vagachhāt sa naḥ śreshtho 'sat tad u naḥ sarveshām saha' iti 'tathā' iti* | 5. *Tad Vishnuḥ prathamah prāpa | sa devānāṁ śreshtho 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'Vishnur devānāṁ śreshthah' iti* | 6. *Sa yaḥ sa Vishnur yajñah sa | sa yaḥ sa yajño 'sau sa Ādityah | tad ha idaṁ yaśo Vishnur na śāsaka saṁyantum | tad idam apy etarhi naiva sarva iva yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum* | 7. *Sa tisri-dhanvam ādāya apachakrāma | sa dhanur-ārtnyā śirah upastabhya tasthau | taṁ devā anabhidhrishṇuvantaḥ samantam parinyaviśanta* | 8. *Tā ha vamrya ūchuḥ | imā vai vamryo yad upadikāḥ | 'yo 'sya jyām apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta' iti 'annādyam asmai prayachhema api dhanvann apo 'dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayachhema' iti* | 9. *Tasya upaparāṣṭitya jyām apijāxus tasyām chhinnāyām dhanur-ārtnyau vishphurantyau Vishnoḥ śirah prachichhidatuḥ* | 10. *Tad ghriṇṇ iti papāta | tat patitvā 'sāv Ādityo 'bhavat | atha itarah prāṇ eva prāvrijjata | tad yad ghriṇṇ ity apatat tasmād gharmah | atha yat prāvrijjata tasmād pravargyah* | 11. *Te devāḥ abruvan | 'mahān vata no vīro 'pādi' iti tasmād mahāvīrah | tasya yo raso vyazarat tam pūṇibhiḥ sammamrijus tasmāt samrāt* | 12. *Taṁ devā abhyamrijjanta yathā vittiṁ vetsyamānā evaṁ | tam Indrah prathamah prāpa | tam anvagam ananyapad-*

¹¹² *Pāñchīḥ soma-yōgasyāpi vedīm tryaṅgula-khātām eva mene* | "Pāñchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." Pāñchi is again mentioned in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2, 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mādhuḥ, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhṛitayas trayo munayah). See Weber's *Ind. Stud.* i. 192, 434.

yato | tam parigṛīṇāt | tam parigṛīṇya idaṁ yaśo 'bhavad yod idaṁ
 Indro yaśaḥ | yaśo ha bhavati ya evaṁ veda | 13. Sa u eva makhaḥ u
 Fakhāḥ | itaś Indro makhaṁvān abhavad | makhaṁvān ha vai tam Maghavān
 ity ācharata paratam | paratā-kīṁvāḥ hi devāḥ | 14. Tābhyo camribhya
 'mūḍhyam prāyachāma | āpo vai sarvām anamā tābhīr hi idam abhīṣat-
 yam eva nīvanti | yad idam kīṁvanti | 15. Atha imān Vishṇuṁ yajñāḥ
 tṛeṇā vyadhujanta | tena apasīṣhṇa yajñena devā archantaś
 śrīṅyantaś cānuḥ |

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishnu the Sacrifice, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Āsvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kuruxetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kuruxetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kuruxetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped. 3. They were [there. They said], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through exertion, austerities, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us : this [shall be] common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5. Vishnu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods : wherefore men say, 'Vishnu is the most eminent of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishnu is sacrifice; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishnu could not support this fame.¹¹³ And the same is the case now, that every one cannot support fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood, resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadīkas*), 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' [The gods replied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9. [The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was divided, the ends of the bow, starting asunder,

¹¹³ It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word *yaśaḥ*, "fame," having reference to the words *sa yaḥ sa Vishnuḥ*, etc., *sa yaḥ sa yajñāḥ*, etc. "He who [is] this Vishnu," etc. "He who [is] this sacrifice," etc.

cut off the head of Vishnu. 10. It fell, making a sound (*ghṛin*). That having fallen, became that Aditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of *ghṛin*, hence *gharma*, ['the sacrificial kettle,' received its name]; and since he became extended, (*prāvṛjyata*), the *pravargya* [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (*mahān vīrah*) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of *mahāvīra* (a sacrificial vessel).¹¹⁴ They wiped (*sammamṛijuh*) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of *samrāt*. 12. The gods touched (?) him (Vishnu), as men wishing to know property (?) do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishnu was indeed sacrifice (*makha*). Hence Indra became the possessor of sacrifice (*makhavān*). He is *Makhavān*: they call him *Maghavān* transcendently; for the gods love what is transcendental (*lit.* beyond the reach of the senses). 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishnu, the sacrifice. With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling."

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirīya Aranyaka, and the second from the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same legend which has just been given from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Taittirīya Aranyaka, v. i. 1-7.—1. *Devā vai satram āsata piddhi-parimitam yasaskāmāḥ | te 'bruvan "yan naḥ prathamam yaśa riehāt sarveshām naḥ tat saḥsād" iti | teshām kuruzetram vedir āsīt | tasyai Kṣaṇḍavo dazinārdha āsīt Tūrghnam uttarārdhaḥ Parīṇaj jaghanārdho Marava utkaraḥ | 2. teshām Makham Vaishnavam yaśa ārechhat | tad nyakāmayata | tena apākramat | tam devā ancyāyan yaśo 'varurutsamānāḥ | tasya ancyagatasya savyād dhanur ajāyata dazinād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishudhanvam punya-janma yajña-janma hi | 3. tam ekam santam bahavo na abhyadhṛishnavan | tasmād ekam ishudhanvam vīram bahavo 'nishudhanvā na abhidhṛishnavanti | so 'mayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhy-*

¹¹⁴ A long account is given of the *gharma*, *pravargya*, and *mahāvīra* in Katyāyana's S'ruta Sūtras, xxvi.

adharshishur" iti | tasya sishmīyānasya tejo 'pākrāmat | tad devā ceka-
dhīshu nyamrījūḥ | te śyāmākā abhavan | smayākā vai nāma ete | 4. tat
smayākānāṁ smayākatvam | tasmād dīxitenā apigrihya smelavyaṁ tejasa
dhṛityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhya atishṭhat | tā upadikā abruvan | "varaṁ
vṛṇāmahai | atha vā imaṁ randhayāma | yatra kva cha khaṇāma tad
apo 'bhitṛinādāma" iti | tasmād upadikā yatra kva cha khaṇanti tad apo
'bhitṛindanti | 5. varavritaṁ hy āsām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya
dhanur vipravamānaṁ śira udavarttayāt | tad dyāvāprithivī anupr-
varttata | yat prāvarttata tat pravargyasya pravargyatvam | yad ghrāṇ
ity apatat tad gharmasya gharmatvam | mahato viryam apatad iti tad
mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam | 6. yad asyāḥ samabharaṁs tat samrājāḥ
samrātṭvam | taṁ strītaṁ devatāḥ tredhā vyagrihṇata | Agniḥ prātaḥ-
savanam Indro mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ Viśvedevāḥ tṛtīya-savanaṁ | tena
apaśirshṇā yajñena yajamānāḥ na āśiṣho 'vārundhata na suvargaṁ lokam
abhyajayan | te devā Āśvināv abruvan | 7. "bhishajau vai sthaḥ | idaṁ
yajñasya śiraḥ pratidhattam" iti | tāv abrūtāṁ "varaṁ vṛṇāmahai graha
eva nāv atrāpi grihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agrihṇan | tā-
etad yajñasya śiraḥ pratyadhataṁ yat pravargyaḥ | tena saśirshṇā
yajñena yajamānā ava āśiṣho 'rundhata | abhi suvargaṁ lokam ajayan |
yat pravargyam praviṇakti yajñasyaiva tach chhirah pratidadhāti | tena
saśirshṇā yajñena yajāmāno 'va āśiṣho rundhe 'bhi suvargaṁ lokam jayati |
tasmād esha āśvina-pravayā iva yat pravargyaḥ |

"The gods, desirous of fame, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said 'whatever fame first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.' Kuruxetra was their altar. Khandava was its southern, Tūrgna its northern, and Parīṇah its hinder section. The Maru were the earth dug from it. 2. Fame came to the Sacrifice derived from Vishnu [*Makha Vaishṇava*] among their number. This fame he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] fame. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, 'Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.' Virile strength issued from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They

became *śyāmāka* grain. For they are smilers (*smayākāḥ*). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with reserve, that he may retain his virility. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], 'let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subdue [or kill him]. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.' Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose.¹¹⁵ They gnawed his (Vishnu's) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (*prāvarttata*), the *pravargya* derives its name. From its falling with the sound of *ghrām*, *gharma* obtained its name. Virile energy (or seed, *vīryam*) fell from the mighty one (*mahataḥ*): hence the *mahāvīra* got its name. 6. From their making a collection (*samabharan*) of it ¹¹⁶ (what?) the *samrāt* obtains its appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said 'Let us ask a boon, let our *grāha* (libation of Soma) be received here also. [The gods accordingly] received this [libation] to the Aśvins for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is the *pravargya*. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven. When one spreads out the *pravargya*, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this *pravargya* is principally concerned with oblations to the Aśvins.'

Panchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6—*Devā vai yaśaskāmāḥ satram*

¹¹⁵ The word thus translated is *vōrevritam*, as written in the copy (in Roman letters) sent to me by Prof. Weber. If, however, one may judge from the two following passages of a similar nature from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the true reading must be *varavritam*, which I have adopted in the text:—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7: *Yajño vai devebhya udakrāmat | te devā na kiñchenāśaknuvan kartum | . . . na prājñānān te 'bruvann Aditīm 'tvayemañ yajñān prajñāmeti' | sū tathety abravīt | sū vai evarān vṛjā itī | vṛjīṣhveti | sū itam eva varam avṛjānta | matprāyaṇā yajñāḥ santu mad-udayanā itī | tatheti | tasmād ādityaś charuḥ prāyaṇīyo bhavaty | āditya udayanīyo | varavṛito hy azyāḥ*. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 2, 3: *Agnīṣomābhyām vā Indro Vritram ahañs tōv enam abrutām | āvōbhyām vai Vritram avadhīr varam te vṛjāvahā itī | 'Vṛjōthām' itī | tōv etam eva varam avṛjātām | śvaḥsutyāyām paśum | su enayor eṣo 'chryuto | varavṛito hy enayoh*.

¹¹⁶ It does not appear to what *tasyāḥ* (in the feminine) refers.

*asato Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhas te 'bruran 'yan no yāsa ricchāt ta-
nah sahānd' iti teshām Makhaṁ yāsa ārchhat | tad ādāya apākrānta |
tad ayaḥ pra sahāditsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭhāya
atishṭhat tasya dhanur-ārttnir ārdhrā patitvā tiro 'chhinat sa praragya
'bhavat yajño vai Makhaḥ | yat praragyaṁ prarājanti yajñasyaiva
tach chhirāḥ pratidadhati |*

"Desirous of fame, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha (Sacrifice) were attending a sacrifice. They said, 'whatever fame comes to us that shall be common to us. Fame came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They followed [or, strove with] him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the *praragya*. Makha is sacrifice. When men spread out the *praragya*, they replace the head of Makha."

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: "*Agnir vai devānām aramo | Viṣṇuḥ paramas | tadantareṇa sarvā anyā devatāḥ*. "Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu." Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: "*Viṣṇur vai devānām dvārapaḥ | sa evāsmā etad dvāraṁ vīrīṇoti*. "Vishnu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him that door."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa gives the legend of the dwarf incarnation in its later form:

"Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's Ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Viṣṇur dera-namaskṛitah | tapaś-charaṇa-yogārtham urāsa sa mahātapaḥ |* 3. *Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanah | siddhāśrama iti khyātah siddho yatra mahātapaḥ |* 4. *Abhibhūya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Baliḥ | trilokya-rājyam bubhujе balotsеka-madānvitah |* 5. *Tuto Balau tadā yajñam yajamāne bhayārditah | Indrādayaḥ suragaṇā Viṣṇum āchur ihāśrame |* 6. *"Baliḥ Vairochanir Viṣṇo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kūma-daḥ sarva-bhūtānām maharddhir asurādhipaḥ |* 7. *Ye chainam abhivarttante yāchitāra itastataḥ | yachecha yatra yathārvachecha sarvaṁ tebhyaḥ prayachehhati |* 8. *Sa traṁ sura-hitārthāya māyā-yogam upāśritah | vāmanatraṁ gato Viṣṇo kuru kalyāṇam uttamam |* 9."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ The follo-

wes 9-16 are rightly enclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as inter-

[*Etasminn antare Rāma Kāśyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā sahito Rāma dīpyamāna iva ujasā | 10. Devī-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varsha-sahasrakam | vrataṁ samāpya vara-daṁ tushṭāva Madhusūdanam | 11. "Tapomayaṁ tapo-rāśim tapo-mūrtiṁ tapo-dhanam | tapasā tvāṁ sutaptena paśyami purushottamam | 12. Sarīre tava paśyāmi jagat sarvām idam prabho | tvam anādir anirdēśyas tvāṁ ahaṁ śaraṇaṁ gataḥ"* | 13. *Tam uvācha Hariḥ prītaḥ Kāśyapaṁ dhūta-kalmasham | varaṁ varaya bhadrāṁ te varārho 'si mato mama | 14. Tach chhurutvā vachanaṁ tasya Mārīchaḥ Kāśyapo 'bravīt | "putratvaṁ gachchha bhagavann Adityā mama chānagha | 15. Bhṛātā bhava yaviyāṁs tvāṁ Sakrasyāsura-sūdana | śokārttānāṁ tu devānāṁ sākāryaṁ karttum arhasi"* | 16. *Atha Viṣṇur mahātejā Adityāṁ samajāyata | chhatrī bhixuka-rūpeṇa kamaṇḍalu-śikhōjvalaḥ |] 17. Evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇur vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanam upāgamyā trīṇ yayāchātmanaḥ kramān | 18. Labdhvā cha trīṇ kramān Viṣṇuḥ kṛitvā rūpam athādbhutam | tribhiḥ kramais tadā lokān ājahāra tri-vikramaḥ | 19. Ekena hi padā kritsnām prithivīm so 'dhyatishṭhata | dvitīyenāvayayāṁ vyoma dyāṁ tritīyena Rāghava | 20. Taṁ chāsuraṁ Balīm kṛitvā pātala-tala-vāsinam | trailokya-rājyam Indrāya dadāv uddhṛitya kaṇṭakam |*

I subjoin the text of the same passage according to Signor Gorresio's edition :

Rāmāyana (Gorresio's Ed.) i. 32, 2 ff.—*Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśrama iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahā-yaśāḥ | 3. Viṣṇur vāmana-rūpeṇa tapyamāno mahat tapaḥ | trailokya-rājye 'pahṛite Balinendrasya Rāghava | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition] 7. Taṁ tvāṁ vāmana-rūpeṇa gatvā bhixitum arhasi | vikramāṁs trīṇ mahābāho dātā hi niyataṁ sa te | 8. Bhixito vikramān etāṁs trīṇ vīrya-bala-darpiṭaḥ | paribhūya jagan-nāthaṁ tubhyaṁ vāmana-rūpeṇa | 9. Ye hy enam abhiyāchante lipsa-mānaḥ svam īpsitam | tān kāmair īpsitāḥ sarvān yojayaty asureśvaraḥ | 10. Sa tvāṁ trailokya-rājyaṁ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pate | dātum arhasi nirjitya vikramair bhūriḥ tribhiḥ | 11. Ayaṁ siddhāśramo nāma siddha-karmā bhaviṣyati | tasmin karmani saṁsiddhe tava satya-parā-polated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 clearly shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kāśyapa and Aditi. This is also the parentage of Viṣṇu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See above, pp. 103 ff.*

kranta. [Schlegel's edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9-16 of his edition.]
 12. *Etān mahā-bhūta-śaśanaḥ śrinvaśa śāpaṁ dātātāh ! Vairochanim
 apyāpāya-śāśaḥ śrībhūta-śaśanaḥ*. [The remaining verses are word for
 word the same as in Schlegel's revision].

The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition:

Vishnu speaks:—2. In this place, o large-armed Rama, Vishnu, the great ascetic, revered by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of performing austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rama, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the 'Hermitage of the Perfect' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra) enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and the other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Vishnu in this hermitage. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, o Vishnu, is now performing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them all whatever, wherever, and in whatever manner [they wish]. 8. Do thou, o Vishnu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, o Rama, the divine Kasyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, 10. having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana: 11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, whose wealth is austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away: 'Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied: 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Śakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to

succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Vishṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on his crown]. 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishṇu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, o Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy.

As the text of Gorresio's edition varies somewhat from that of Schlegel, I shall subjoin a translation of those parts of it which are different.

"2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the illustrious Vishṇu was perfected, 3. when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4-6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition]. 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, o large-armed; 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him with that view. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called the hermitage of the perfect, (or *fulfilled*), shall be [a place] where *this work is fulfilled*, when this work has been accomplished by thee, o possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces." (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition).

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahābhārata:

Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, vv. 1294, 3 ff.—*Virochanasya balavān*

*Baliḥ putro mahāsuraḥ | abadhyāḥ sarva-lokānām sa-devāsura-razasām |
bhaviṣhyati sa Sakraṇcha sva-rājyād chārayiṣhyati=(chāvayishyati?) |
trailokye 'prahṛite tena vimukhe cha Sachīpatau | Adityāṁ dvādaśādityāḥ
sambhaviṣhyāmi Kaśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi Śukrāyāmita-tejasu |
devatāḥ sthāpayiṣhyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Balīnchaiva kariṣhyāmi
pātāla-tala-vāsinam | Dānavaṇcha Balim śreṣṭham abadhyam sarva-
daivataih |*

Vishnu says to Narada : "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rāksasas. He shall oust Sakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born as the twelve Adityas, the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I shall then restore his empire to Sakra of boundless energy ; shall reinstate the gods in their several positions ; shall place Bali in Pātāla, and [make] the eminent Dānava Bali indestructible by all the gods."

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—¹¹⁸ *Aditer api putratcam etya
Yādava-nandana | tvaṁ Viṣṇur iti vikhyāta Indrād avarajo vibhuḥ |
śiṣur bhūtvā divaṁ khaṇcha prithivīncha parantapa | tribhir vikramanaiḥ
Kṛishṇa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadan-
sthitaiḥ | atyārohaṣcha bhūtātman bhāskaram svena tejasā | prādurbhāva-
sahasreshu teshu teshu tvayā vibho | adharma-ruchayaḥ Kṛishṇa nihataḥ
śataśo' surāḥ |* "And thou, Kṛishṇa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Viṣṇu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, o vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the æther, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, o soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own force. In these thousands of thy manifestations, o all-pervading Kṛishṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity."

The next passage is a short notice of the same incarnation from the Vishnu Purāṇa :

Vish. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson's translation).—*Manvantare tu
samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanaḥ Kaśyapād Viṣṇur Adityāṁ
śambabhūva ha | Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān jītvā yena mahātmanā |*

¹¹⁸ See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 489, note, and p. 779 f. and note.

Purandarāya trai lokyaṁ dattaṁ nihata-kaṇṭakam | “So when the Vaivasvata manvantara was arrived, Vishṇu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), their enemy being destroyed.”

The legend of Vishnu's incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus :

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—*Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchata | bhūteśvaraḥ kṛpāṇa-val labdārtho 'pi babandha tam* | 2. *Etad veditum ichhāmo mahat kautūhalaṁ hi naḥ | yajñeśvarasya pūrnasya bandhanaṁ chāpy anāgasah* |

The king asks: “Why did Hari, the lord, whose wishes were satisfied, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity;—and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?” The sage Suka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmanas of the race of Bhṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a *viśvajit* sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11) attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 23), Indra enquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): *Jānāmi Maghavan śatoro unnater asya kāraṇam | śishyāyopabhṛitāṁ tejo Bhṛigubhir brahma-vādibhiḥ* | 29. *Bhavad-vidho bhavān vā'pi varjayitveśvaraṁ Harim | nāsya śaktaḥ puraḥ sthātum kṛtāntasya yathā janāḥ* | 30. *Tasmād nilayam utsṛijya yūyaṁ sarve tricishṭapam | yāta kalam pratixanto yataḥ śatoro viparyayaḥ* | 31. *Esha vipra-balodarkaḥ sampraty arjita-vikramaḥ | teshāṁ evācamānena sānubandho vinanṛtyati* |

“I know, Maghavan, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy

to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bhṛiguṣ, the utterers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, nor even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, your abode, depart, expecting time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brahmans, he shall perish with all his dependants."

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans, will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 125).

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhṛiguṣ celebrated for him a hundred *āśvamedhas*, (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:

(Sect. 16, vv. 18 ff.)—*Evam abhyarthito 'dityā Kaś tām āha smayan iva | aho māyā-balaṁ Viṣṇoḥ sneha-baddham idaṁ jagat | 19. Kea deho bhautiko 'nātmā kva chātmā prakṛiteḥ paraḥ | kasya ke pati-puṭtrādya moha eva hi kāraṇam | 20. Upatiṣṭhasva Puruṣam bhagavantaṁ Janārdanam | sarva-bhūta-guhāvāsaṁ Vāsudevaṁ jagad-gurum | 21. Sa vidhāsyati te kāmān Harir dīnānukampanaḥ | amoghā bhagavad-bhaktir netareti matir mama |*

18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Ka¹¹⁹ (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Viṣṇu's illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (*i.e.* how great is the superiority of soul to the body!)¹²⁰ Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? ¹²¹ (*i.e.* there are no such things

¹¹⁹ For an explanation of this word see above, p. 13, note 30.

¹²⁰ Compare for this idiom the Raghuvamśa, i, 2: *Kea sūrya-prabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva chātma-viśaya matih |*

¹²¹ See Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's edition), ii. 108, 3 ff.

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vāsudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my opinion."

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Vishṇu in such a way as to obtain her desires, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (*payo-vrata*) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Purusha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:

(Sect. 17, vv. 18 ff.)—*Teayārchitaś chāham apatyā-guptaye payo-ratenānugunañ samidītaḥ | svāmśena putratvam upetya te sūtān gop-tāsmi Mārīcha-tapasy adhiśthitaḥ |* 19. *Upadhāva patim bhadre prajāpatim akalmasham | mām cha bhāvayati patyāḥ evāmṛtām avasthitam |* 20. *Naitat parasmā ākhyeyam prishṭayā 'pi kathañchana | sarvañ sam-padyate devī deva-guhyāñ susāmṛitam |* 21. *Suka uvācha | etāvad ukteḥ bhagavāns tatraivāntaradhīyata | Aditir durlabhañ labdhvā Harer janmātmani prabhoḥ | upādhāvat patim bhaktyā parayā kṛita-kṛitya-vat |* 22. *Sa vai samādhi-yogena Kaśyapas tad abudhyata | pravishṭam ātmani Harer aṁśaṁ hy avitathezanaḥ |* 23. *So 'dityāñ vīryāñ ādhatta tapasā chira-sambhṛitam | samāhita-manā rājan dāruṇy agniñ yathā 'nilaḥ |*

"Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in this form abides within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, o goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain in-

tuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

I have already observed that Vishnu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 115). The connection with the old legend is therefore here preserved.

The eighteenth section relates how Hari was born of Aditi, to the great delight of all creatures, and how he then took the form of a dwarf:

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—*Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhūṣaṇāyudhair acyaktachid vyaktam adhārayat Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmano vaṭuḥ sanpaśyator divya-gatir yathā nataḥ* | "While Hari, the invisible spirit, was invested with that body, which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons, he, whose ways are supernatural, became with that very body, while [his parents] were looking on, a young dwarf, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the *aśvamedha* sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhṛigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.¹²² Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.).—*Tat-pāda-śaucaṁ jana-kalmashāpahaṁ sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-devo Giriśaś chandramaulir dadhāra mūrdhnā parayā cha bhaktyā* | 29. *Balir uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas tubhyam brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmarākṣhāṁ tapaḥ sākṣād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam* | 32. *Yad yad raṣṭro vāñchasi tat pratichha me tvām arthinam vipra-sūtānutarkaye | gām kāñchanaṁ guṇavad dhāma mṛiṣṭaṁ tathā 'nna-peyam uta vā vipra-kanyām | grāmān sampriddhāṁs turagān gajān vā rathāṁs tathā 'rhattama sampratichha* | 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (Śiva), the god of gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head, with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: 'Welcome to thee, reverence to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard

¹²² It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.

thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages.

32. Ask of me, youth, whatever thou desirest, (son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant), ask, most respectable man, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.'"

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily ends with the seemingly moderate demand of three paces of ground :

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—*Tasmāt tvatto mahīm īśhad vṛiṇe 'haṁ varadar-shabbāt | padāni trīṇi daityendra sammitānī padā mama | 17. Nānyat te kāmāya rājan vadānyāḥ jagadīśvarāt | naināḥ prāpnoti vai vidvān yāvad-artha-pratigrahaḥ | 18. Balir uvācha | Aho Brāhmaṇa-dāyāda vāchas te vṛiddha-sammataḥ | tvam bālo bālīśa-matiḥ svārtham praty abudho yathā | 19. Mām vachobhiḥ samārādhyā lokānām ekam īśvaram | pada-trayaṁ vṛiṇīte yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāsusham | 20. Na pumān mām upravrajya bhūyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vṛittikarīm bhūmiṁ vaṇo kāmam pratichha me | 21. Śrī-bhagavān uvācha | yāvanto viśhayāḥ preṣṭhās trilokyām ajitendriyam | na śaknuvanti te sarve pratipūrayitum nṛipa | 22. Tribhiḥ kramair asantushto dvīpenāpi na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptadvīpa-varechhayā | 27. Tasmāt trīṇi padāny eva vṛiṇe tvad varadarshabbāt | etāvataiva viddho 'haṁ vittaṁ yāvat prayojanam | 28. Suka uvācha | ity uktaḥ sa hasann āha vāñchhitam pratigrihyatām | vāmanāya mahīm dātum jagrāha jala-bhājanam |*

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs. 18. Bali answered : 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseem an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words revered me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man should come to me and make repeated requests : wherefore freely ask me for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied : 'All the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, o king, satisfy the man whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three

paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine *varshas*, since he will desire the gift of the seven continents.¹²³ 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices for my maintenance I am complete.' Being thus addressed, Bali said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water."

Uśanas, however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishṇu in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited :

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—*Vishṇave xmām pradāsyantam Uśanā asure-śvaram | jānanś chikirshitaṁ Vishṇoḥ śishyam prāha vidāṁ varaḥ | 30. Śukrāchāryya uvācha | Esha Vairochane sākād bhagavān Vishṇur avya-yaḥ | Kaśyapād Aditer jāto devānām kārya-sādhakaḥ | 31. Pratiśrutam tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manye daityānām mahān upagato 'nayaḥ | 32. Esha te sthānam aiśvaryyam śriyam tejo yaśaḥ śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya Sakrāya māyā-mānavako Hariḥ | 33. Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān viśva-kāyaḥ kramishyati | sarvasvaṁ Vishṇave dattvā mūḍha varttiśhyase katham | 34. Kramato gām padaikena dvītiyena divaṁ vibhoḥ | khaṁ cha kāyena mahatā tārīyasya kuto gatiḥ | 35. Nish-ṭhām te narake manye hy apradātuḥ pratiśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo 'nīśaḥ pratipādayitum bhavān | 36. Na taḍ dānam praśaṁsanti yena vṛittir vipadyate | dānaṁ yajñas tapaḥ karma loka vṛittinato yataḥ |*

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishṇu's intention, thus addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the land to that deity: 30. 'This, o son of Virochana, is manifestly the divine, undecaying Vishṇu, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unknowingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 32. This illusory dwarf having bereft thee of thy place, dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will give them to Sakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou hast given all thy possessions to Vishṇu? 34. Where shall there be room for the third pace

¹²³ See the First Part of this work, pp. 184 ff. for an account of these continents and *varshas*.

of the all-pervading being when he has traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and [filled] the atmosphere with his vast body? 35. I think that thy abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to carry it out) of what thou hast promised. 36. Men do not approve that gift by which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined : for [it is understood] in the world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed by those who have the means."

In the verses which follow it is apparently the preceptor's object to show that the monarch may consider himself as absolved by the necessities of the case from fulfilling his promise already given to the dwarf.

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience :

(Sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—*Evam āsraddhitaṁ śishyam anādeśa-karaṁ guruḥ | śaśāpa daiva-prahitaḥ satyasandham manasvinam |* 15. *Ḍṛiḍham paṇḍita-māny ajñāḥ stabdho 'sy asmad-upexayā | mach-chhāsanātigo yas team achirād bhrāśyase śriyaḥ |* 16. *Evam śaptaḥ sva-guruṇā satyād na chālito mahān | vāmanāya dadāv enām architvodaka-pūrvakam |* 17. *Vindhyāvalis tadā "gatya patnī jālaka-mālinī | āninye kalaśaṁ haimam avanejany apām bhṛitam |* 18. *Yajamānaḥ svayaṁ tasya śrīmat-pāda-yugaṁ mudā | avanijyāvahad mūrdhni tad-apo viśva-pāvanīḥ |*

14. "The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. 'Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.' 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], not departing from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyāvali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablution. 18. Then the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed."

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand :

SECT. 20. v. 11. — *Tuṁ nūmanāṁ rūpam anardhatādbhutaṁ Haraṁ*
anūmanāṁ rūpam—Tūmānāṁ rūpam . nūmāṁ kūmāṁ dīva dyaur vicarāḥ payodhayaḥ
trīṇaṁ—ar—bhū—bhūṇaṁ nūmāṁ kūmāṁ | “That dwarfish body of the infinite
 Hari, compassing of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that
 body] which compassed the earth, the air, the points of the compass,
 the sky, the abysses, the heavens, brutes, men, gods, and rishis.”

A further account of this vast body, of the effect which the appearance of it produced in the Lokas, and other beings, is given in verses 21-22: and in length the strides of the deity are thus described:

SECT. 20. v. 13. — *Itanā gūḥyātama Bālā rickakrame nabhaḥ śaritraṁ*
śūśrūṣaṁ nūmānāṁ gūḥyātāṁ ānūṣṭyaṁ īrṇvataḥ trivikṣapaṁ na ca trit-
yaṁ na trityaṁ ca ca ca . vācāṁśānūṣṭyaṁ upary upary atha mahar-
vaṇḍānūṣṭyaṁ saṁvāṇāṁ gaurāṁ pūṇā | He traversed the earth of Bali with
 one pace, and [filled] the air with his body and the points of the com-
 pass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [occupied] the heaven;
 and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The
 foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then
 reached beyond the Mahar-, Janā-, and Tapa-lokas.¹²⁴

The gods assemble SECT. 21. to do homage to Hari on his victory, which they celebrate with great rejoicing, and which is proclaimed by the King of the bears:

SECT. 21. vv. 8-14. — *Jāmbavatā pira-rūṣaḥ tu bhēri-śabdair manojarāḥ |*
vijāyāṁ dīva sarvāṁ mahāsarāṁ ajicāṣyat | 9. Mahīm sarvām hṛitām
drishṭvā tri-pāśa-nyāśa-pāśāṇā | śūbhā eva-bharttur asurā dīritasy-
ātyamarikṣitāḥ | 10. Na cā ayam brāhma-bandhur Viṣṇur māyārinām
varāḥ | deṇḍā-rūpa-pratichāyano deca-kāryyaṁ chikīrṣati | 11. Anena
yūchamānena śatruṇā caṇu-rūpiṇā | sarvasarāṁ no hṛitam bharttur nyasta-
dandasya varhishi | 12. Satya-vratasya satatām dīritasya viśeshataḥ |
nānṛitam bhāṣhitum śakyam brahmanyasya dayāvataḥ | 13. Tasmād asya
badhe dharmo bharttuḥ śūśrūṣaṇe cha naḥ | ity āyudhāni jagṛihur Balā
anucharāsurāḥ | 14. Te sarve vāmanaṁ hantum śūla-paṭṭiśa-pāṇayāḥ |
anichhato Balāḥ rājan prādravan jūta-manyarāḥ |

8. “Jāmbavat, King of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master

¹²⁴ See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa (p. 48, note 10, and p. 213) for an account of these Lokas.

when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. 'This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishṇu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. By this enemy in the form of a stripling suppliant, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is the friend of Brahmins, and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him, and obey our master;'—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf." ¹²⁵

This attack of the Asuras is, however, derided by the followers of Vishṇu, who kill some of them, and they are at length restrained by Bali, who points out that time and fate are at present unfavourable to his cause. Bali is then bound in the chains of Varuṇa, and reproached by Vishṇu for failing to fulfil his promise:

(Sect. 21, v. 26).—*Atha Tārxa-suto jñātvā Virāt prabhu-chikīrshitam | babandha Vāruṇaiḥ pāsair Baliṁ sautyē 'hani kratau | 27. Hahākāro mahān āsīd rodasyoḥ sarvato-dīśam | grihyamāṇe 'sura-patau Viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā | 28. Tam baddhaṁ Vāruṇaiḥ pāsair bhagavān āha vāmanah | nashṭa-śrīyam sthira-prajñam udāra-yāsasam nṛipa | 29. Padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyaṁ tvayā 'sura | dvābhyāṁ krāntā mahi sarvā tṛtīyam upakalpaya | 30. Yāvat tapaty asau gobhīr yāvād Induḥ sahoḍubhiḥ | Yāvād varshati Parjanyaś tāvati bhūr iyāṁ tava | 31. Padaikena mayā krānto bhūrlokaḥ khaṁ dīśas tanoḥ | svarlokaś tu dvitīyena paśyatas te svam ātmanā | 32. Pratiśrutam adātus te niraye vāsa ishyate | viśa tvaṁ nirayaṁ tasmād guruṇā chānumoditāḥ | 33. Vṛthā manorathas tasya dūra-svargaḥ pataty adhaḥ | yo viprāya pratiśrutya na tad arpayate 'rhitam | 34. Vipralabdho dadāmi tvayā 'haṁ chādya-māninā | tad-ryalika-phalam bhupṛṣṭva nirayaṁ katichit samāḥ | 26. "Then Virāt (Garuḍa), the son of Tārxa, knowing the purpose of*

¹²⁵ It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

the Lord bound him with the bonds of Varuṇa¹³ at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma Offering. 28. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds 'heaven and earth', when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the godman Vasiṣṭha. 29. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm and whose power was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed. 30. Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire earth has been traversed: find a place for thee: that. 31. The earth of mine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 32. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [permeated] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 33. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 34. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 35. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst: 'I give.' Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit."

Bali answers as follows (Sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—*Yady uttama-śloka bhārān mameritām vacho vyatikṣm sura-varyya manyate karomy ṛitām tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ tṛtīyaṁ kuru śirśṇi me nijam* 3. *Bibhemi nāhaṁ nirayāt pada-chyuto na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | nairārtha-kṛichhrād bhārato einigrahāt asūdhū-rādād bhṛīṣam udvije yathā |*

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, you consider the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I [now make it true, or] I do what is sincere, and can be no deception,—place your third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor misfortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor your restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror's superiority,

¹³ See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be *bhavaḥ pater amṛtasya* "[gods] who have many bonds for falsehood."—See Roth's art. on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73.

and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyāvali next worships Viṣṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Viṣṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—*Esha dānava-daityānām agraviḥ kirtti-vardhanaḥ | ajaishīd ajayām māyām sīdann api na muhyati | 29. Xīna-rikthaś chyutaḥ sthānāt xipto baddhaścha śatrubhiḥ | jñātibhiścha parityakto yūtanām anuyāpitaḥ | 30. Gurunā bhartsitaḥ śapto jahau satyām na suvataḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmo nāyam tyajati satyavāk | 31. Esha me prāpitaḥ sthānām dushprāpam amarair api | Sāvārṇer antaryāyam bhavitendro mad-āśrayaḥ | 32. Tūvat sutalam adhyāstām Viśvakarma-vinirmitaḥ | yan nādhayo vyādhayaścha klamas tandrā parābhavaḥ | nopasargā nivasatām sambhavanti mamechhayā |*

28. "This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion: though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this truthful being does not swerve from it. 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain: he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Sāvārṇi Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarman, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: *Aho praṇāmāya kṛitaḥ samud-yamaḥ prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samāhitaḥ | yallokapālais tvad-anugraho 'marair alabdha-pūrvo 'pasade 'sure 'rpitaḥ | 3. Suka uvācha | ity ukteḥ Hariḥ ānamya Brahmānaḥ sa-Bhavaḥ tataḥ | viveśa sutalam prīto Balir muktaḥ sahāsuraiḥ | 2. "O, even the effort made to adore thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Aśura.' 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā, and to Bhava (Siva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras. Viṣṇu now addresses Uśanas the priest of Bali:*

(Sect. 21, v. 13).—*Athāhośanasam rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo 'ntike | āśīnam ṛitvijām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām | 14. Brahman santana śishyasya karma-chhidraṁ vitanvataḥ | yat tat karmasu vaiśāmyam brahma-dṛishṭam samam bhavet | 15. Sūkra uvācha | Kutas tat-karma-vaiśāmyam yasya karmēśvaro bhavān | yajñeśo yajñāpuruṣaḥ sarva-bhāvena pūjitaḥ | 16. Mantratas tantrataś chhidraṁ deśa-kālārha-va-tutaḥ | sarvaṁ karoti niśchhidram anusankīrtanaṁ tava | 17. Tathāpi vadato bhūman karishyāmy anuśāsanam | etach chhreyasḥ param puṁsāṁ yat tavājñānupālanaṁ | 18. Sūka uvācha | abhinandya Harer ājñam Uśanā bhagavān iti | yajña-chhidraṁ samādhatta Baler viprarahikṣiḥ saha | 19. Evam Baler mahīm rājan bhixitvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadeu bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivam yat parair hṛitam | 13. "Hari Nārāyaṇa then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of reciters of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. 'Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.' 15. Sūkra (Uśanas) replied: 'How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which you are the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial male [or victim], adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being (?), I shall fulfil the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.' 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Uśanas with the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali's sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra¹²⁷ the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies."*

Though the whole tenor of this legend, and, indeed, of the entire Bhāgavata Purāṇa, represents Vishṇu, of whom the dwarf was an incarnation, as the supreme deity, it is now rather strangely said that Brahmā and the other deities made the dwarf governor of all things:

(Sect. 21, v. 20).—*Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitri-bhūmipaiḥ | Daxa-Bhṛigu-Angiro-mukhyaiḥ Kumāreṇa Bhavena cha | 21. Kāśyapasy-āditeḥ prityai sarva-bhūta-bhavāya chā | lokānām loka-pālānām akaroḍ cām-*

¹²⁷ Vishṇu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 116, last line.

anam patim | 22. *Vedānām sarva-devānām dharmasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ* | *maṇ-galānām vratānāṁcha kalpaṁ svargāpavargayoḥ* | 23. *Upendraṁ kalpa-yāñchakre patiṁ sarva-vibhūṭaye* | *tadā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhrīṣam mu-mudire nṛipa* | 20. "Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with the gods, rishis, Pitris, with Daxa, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Vishṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly."

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 62) in glorification of Vishṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the legend of the dwarf incarnation.

SECT. V.—*Vishṇu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas.*

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vishṇu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 55 that neither Yāska himself, nor Sākapūṇi and Aurnavābha the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vishṇu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 56, it appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods of primary importance, and that of these Vishṇu is not one. As the passage from which this extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length :

Nir. 7, 4.—*Tad ye 'nādishṭa-devatā mantrās teshu devatopaparīṣā* | *yad-daivataḥ sa yajño vā yajñāṅgaṁ vā tad-devatā bhavanti* | *atha anyatra*

*bhakti-sāhacharyaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | atha etāny Agni-bhaktīny aycm
lokaḥ prātaḥ-savanaṁ vasanto gāyatrī trivṛt-stomo rathantaram sāma
ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ prathame sthāne 'gnāyī prithivī ilā
iti striyaḥ | atha asya karma vahanam cha havishām āvahanam cha
devatānām yach cha dārṣṭi-vishayikam Agni-karmaiva tat | atha
asya saṁstavikā devā Indraḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Parjanya ṛitavaḥ |
Agnā-Vaishṇavaṁ havir na tu ṛik saṁstavikī daśatayīṣhu vidyate | a'ha
apy Agnā-Paushṇam hacir na tu saṁstavah | 10. Atha etāni
Indra-bhaktīny antarixa-loko mādhyandinām savanam grīshmas trishṭup
pañchadaśa-stomo bṛihat-sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātā madhyam-
sthāne yāścha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasānupradānam Vṛittra-vallho
yā cha kā cha bala-kṛitir Indra-karmaiva tat | atha asya saṁstavikā devā
Agniḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Pūṣhā Bṛihaspatir Brahmanaspatiḥ Parvataḥ Kuto
Vishṇur Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitro Varuṇena saṁstūyate | Pūṣhā Rudreṇa
cha Somaḥ | Agnīnā cha Pūṣhā | Vātena cha Parjanyaḥ | 11. Atha
etāny Āditya-bhaktīny asau lokas tritīya-savanaṁ varṣhā jagatī sapṭadaśa-
stomo vairūpaṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātā uttame sthāne yāścha
striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasādānam raśmibhiḥ cha rasādharānam yach
cha kīnchit pravallhitam Āditya-karmaiva tat | Chandramasā Vāyunā
Sāmvatsareṇa iti saṁstavah | eteshv eva sthāna-ryūheshv ṛitu-chhandah-
stoma-prishṭhasya bhakti-śesham anukalpayita | śarad-anushtub-ekaviṁśa-
stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti prithivī-āyatanāni | hemantaḥ paṅktis trinava-
stomaḥ śūkaram sāma ity antarixāyatanāni | śiśiro 'tichhandās trayas-
triṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma iti dyu-bhaktīni |*

4. "We shall now enquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] belongs. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (*yājñikāḥ*), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), they are spoken in praise of men.¹²⁸ Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities: for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to

¹²⁸ Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word *nārāśaṁsa* is thus defined: *yena narāḥ praśasyante sa nārāśaṁso mantrah* | "a hymn in which men are eulogised is a *nārāśaṁsa* hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yaska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

what has been said that hymns are either (1) sacrificial, or (2) addressed to a god, [it is remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as *e.g.* the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1-28), and also the eight pairs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.) But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the numerous natures of the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of the definition of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, p 11); they are produced from the ceremonial; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

5. There are three deities according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātṛi*, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus, men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants, (*i.e.* the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons [?]).

6. We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. (An instance is here given where

Indra is so introduced.) They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men; . . . and with functions of a similar character to the human. . . .

7. Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.) Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'they cry with their green mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'even before the priests they eat food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.¹²⁹

8. It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their worship. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's worship: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatri metre, the trivṛit stoma, the rathantara sâma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṇṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnâî, Prithivî, and Ilâ. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible (?)

¹²⁹ The commentator Durga, (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, *Illust. of Nir.* p. 104), refers this observation to the Mahābhārata, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to beg the Kāṇḍava wood from Vāsudeva and Arjuna, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question.

is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishnu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no *rick* which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in common, but no conjoint laudation.

10. The following are the objects connected with Indra's worship: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the *trishtubh* metre, the *pañchadaśa stoma*, the *brīhat sāma*, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛitra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛhaspati, Brahmanaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishnu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

11. The following are the objects connected with Āditya's (the Sun's) worship: heaven, the third oblation, the rainy season, the *jagati* metre, the *saptadaśa stoma*, the *vairūpa sāma*, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the highest sphere. The function of Āditya is to draw up moisture, and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Āditya. He is praised along with the Moon, the Air (*Vāyu*), and the Year.

[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and *prishthas*, as objects connected with the service of the different gods, under [one or other of the three] spheres as above arranged. Autumn, the *anushtubh* metre, the *ekaviṃśa stoma*, and the *vairāja sāma*, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the *pankti* metre, the *triṇava stoma*, and the *śikvara sāma*, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the *atichhandas* metre, the *trayastrinśa stoma*, and the *raivata sāma*, are connected with the celestial worship."¹³⁰

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska, as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishnu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped

¹³⁰ The whole of this passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his *Ill. of Nir.* pp. 101 ff.

along with Soma. The conjunction of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (*trimūrtti*) would therefore appear to have been unknown to Yāska.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the *trimūrtti* of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, I think, be objected to this view, that if Yāska had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we must conclude either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Bṛihaddevatā, in which the views of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Bṛihaddevatā, i. 13.—*Bhavad-bhūta[sya bha]vyasya jaṅgama-sthāvarasya cha | asyaika sūryam evaikam prabhavam pralayaṁ viduḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prajāpatiḥ | yad azaraṁ cha vāchyaṁ (?) cha yathaiva Brahma śāsvatam | kṛitvaisha hi tridhā "tmānam eshu lokeshu tiśṭhati |* Ibid. i. 14 . . . *tisra eva devatāḥ | etāsām eva mātṛmyād nāmānyatvaṁ vidhīyate | tach cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatṛha dṛśyate |* i. 13: "Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe] present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of nonentity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."

From the passage cited above (p. 26 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishṇu is only once mentioned¹³¹ by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

¹³¹ Lassen Ind. Ant. i. 777, note.

*tapah | ishṭavān aśvamedhena bhavataḥ śraddhayā 'nvitah | ishṭim cha
 putra-kāmo 'nyām punaḥ karttū samudyataḥ | tad asya puttra-kāmasya
 prasādam karttū arhatha | abhiyāche cha vaḥ sarvān asyārthe 'haṁ
 kṛitāñjaliḥ | bhavedyur asya chatvāraḥ putrās trailokya-viśrutāḥ | te tath-
 ety abruvan devā rishi-putraṁ kṛitāñjalim | mānanīyo 'si no vipra rājā
 chaiva viśeshataḥ | prāpsyate paramaṁ kāmam etayeshṭyā narādhipaḥ |
 ity uktvā 'ntarhitā devās tataḥ Sakra-purogamāḥ | tāḥ sametya yathā-
 nyāyāṁ tasmin sadasi devatāḥ | abruvan loka-karttāram Brahmanāṁ
 vachanaṁ tataḥ | tvat-pradishṭa-varo Brahman Rāvaṇo nāma rāzasah |
 sarvān no bādhati darpād maharshimś cha tapo-ratān | tvayā hy asya
 varo dattaḥ pritenā bhagavan purā | deva-dānava-yazūpām abadhya 'iti
 kāmataḥ | mānayantaścha te vākyaṁ sarvam asya sahāmahe | sa bādhayati
 lokāṁś trīn vihiṁsan rāzaseśvaraḥ | . . . 19. Tad mahad no bhayaṁ
 tasmād rāzasād ghora-darśanāt | badhārthaṁ tasya bhagavann upāyāṁ
 karttū arhasi | evam uktaḥ suraiḥ sarvaiś chintayitvā tato 'bravīt |
 hantāyāṁ vihitas tasya badhopāyo durātmanaḥ | tena "gandharva-yaz-
 ūpām deva-dānava-rāzasām | abadhyah syām" iti proktaṁ tathety uktaṁ
 cha tad mayā | avajñāya tu tad rāzo manushān nānvakīrttayāt | tasmāt
 sa mānushād badhya mṛityur nānyo 'sya vidyate | etach chhṛutvā priyaṁ
 vākyaṁ Brahmanā samudāhṛitam | devāḥ Sakra-purogās te harshitāḥ
 sarvato 'bhavan | etasminn antare Viṣṇur upayāto mahādutyaiḥ | śaṅkha-
 chakra-gadā-pāṇiḥ pīta-vāsā jagat-patiḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya bhāska-
 ras toyadam yathā | tapta-haṭaka-keyūro vandyamānaḥ srotamāiḥ |
 tam abruvan surāḥ sarve samabhishṭutya sannatāḥ | ārttānāṁ asi lokānāṁ
 ārtti-hā Madhusūdana | yūchāmahe 'tas tvām ārttāḥ śaraṇāṁ no bhavā-
 chyuta | brūta kiṁ karavāṇīti Viṣṇus tām abravīt vachāḥ | iti tasya
 vachāḥ śrutvā punar ūchur idam surāḥ | rājā Daśaratho nāma taptavān
 sumahat tapaḥ | ishṭavāṁś chāśvamedhena prajā-kāmāḥ sa chāprajāḥ |
 asman-niyogāt tvām Viṣṇo tasya putratvam āpnuhi | tasya bhāryāsu
 tisṛishu Hṛī-Sṛī-Kīrtty-upamāsu cha | Viṣṇo putratvam āgachha kṛitvā
 "tmānam chaturvidham | tatra tvam mānusho bhūtvā pravṛiddhaṁ loka-
 kṛtākam | abadhyāṁ daivatair Viṣṇo samare jāhi Rāvaṇam |
 34. Tvām gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshām naḥ parantapa | badhōya deva-
 śatrūṇāṁ nṛiṇāṁ loka manāḥ kuru | sa niyuktas tathā devaiḥ sākṣād
 Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | tām uvācha ityādi |*

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on
 this answer, having acquired an insight [into what he should do], said

to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-śiras, to obtain for thee a son. The self-subdued son of Vibhāṇḍaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa¹³² (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Rishyaśiṅga thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aśvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and possessed with faith, has worshipped you with an aśvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son whose hands were joined, 'So be it. Thou, Brahman, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Sakra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled in that abode,¹³³ these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rāxasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, o Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, o lord, a boon was formerly granted to him voluntarily by thee when well-pleased, viz. *Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yaxas*. Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rāxasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rāxasa of horrible aspect. Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. He said, "Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yaxas, gods, Dān-

¹³² Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

¹³³ It seems as if there was something left out here, as no "abode" has been mentioned before. Vishṇu, too, ought to have been among the gods, as he is not said to have separated from the others, and yet his arrival is afterwards mentioned below.

avas and Rāxasas;" when I replied, "Be it so." But despising men, the Rāxasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by Śakra, were altogether delighted. In the meantime the glorious Viṣṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, afflicted, beseech thee be our refuge, o Achyuta (unfalling).' Viṣṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Viṣṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hṛī, Śrī, and Kīrtti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvaṇa, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (*tvatto hi nānyas tam pāpaṁ śakto hantuṁ divaukasām*). Viṣṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (*deveśa*), "the most excellent of the immortals" (*tridaśa-puṅgava*), "adored by all the worlds" (*sarva-loka-namaskṛita*), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvaṇa, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Viṣṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings of a later age. But it is not certain that even this passage formed part of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from "Lassen's Indian Antiquities," vol. i. p. 488, in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata:

"It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Krishna appear as incarnations of Vishnu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishnu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the more modern character of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced; and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress."¹³⁴

In p. 489, note, he remarks more particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyana, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishnu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishnu in the four sons of Dasaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close,

¹³⁴ In the Preface to his Vishnu Purāṇa, p. ix., Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyana, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Vishnu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Krishna, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Krishna is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."

when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishṇu."—p. 469.

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyana seems to confirm the opinion of Schlegel that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a *putriyā ishṭi*, for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following:

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff.—*Tasya tv evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanah | sūtārtham tapyamānasya nāsīd vaṁśa-karah sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpanneyam mahāmateḥ | sūtārtham vāji-medhena kimarthaṁ na yajāmy aham | suniśchitām matiṁ kṛtvā yashṭarye vasudhādhipaḥ* | "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in Sect. 11, 1, it is said: *Atha kāle vyatikrānte śiśire tad-anantaram | vāsanta-samaye prūpte rājā yashṭum mano dadhe | tataḥ prasādyā śirasā taṁ vipraṁ deva-varchasam | yajñāya varayāmāsa santānārthaṁ kulasya vai* | "Then when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvālī, Vasishṭha,

even he says to them (v. 9 : *Mama tāpasyamānasya putrārtham nāsti tai rakṣaṇaḥ | tad ahaṁ ājya-medhena yajñam iti me matiḥ | tad-arthaṁ yajñam viddhmi ājya-pūrtvāsa karmena* | “I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in which a horse is the first victim.”

We are again told (v. 20) :

*Tataḥ sa yatra tāḥ putrāḥ narendro hṛdayaṅgamūḥ | uvācha dīdūḥ sū-
ata yajye 'haṁ vata-kūramāt* | “Then going to his beloved wives, the king said to them, ‘Enter upon a course of consecration ; I am about to sacrifice for a son.’”

And at the beginning of the 12th section it is said : *Punaḥ prāpṭv
vasante tu pūrṇaḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat | prasacūrtham gato yajñam ājya-
medhena tīryatān* | “Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring.”

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kauśalya, “through desire of a son,” remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night (13, 36 : *Patatrinā tadā sārddham sushṭhitena cha chetasā | arasād rajanīm
ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyayā*), and the other two queens beside her (v. 3, 7).¹³⁵

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section 13, vv. 54 ff. :

*Daxiṇāḥ parigrihyātha supṛita-mānasā drijāḥ | ūchur Daśarathaḥ
tatra kāmāṁ dhyāyeti vai tadā | tato 'bravīd Rishyaśṛiṅgaṁ rājā Daśa-
rathas tadā | kulasya varddhanaṁ tat tu karttum arhasi suvrata | tatheti
sa cha rājānam uvācha dvija-sattamaḥ | bhaviṣhyanti sutā rājāṁś chat-
vāras te kulodevāḥ |* “Having received the gifts with great gratifica-
tion, the Brahmins then said to Daśaratha, ‘Think of the object you desire.’ The king then said to Rishyaśṛiṅga, ‘Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that increase of my race.’ The most excellent of Brahmins replied, ‘So be it ; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.’”

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted

¹³⁵ See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii. ; the Vājāsaneīyī Sūhita, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff. ; Kātyāyana Sūtra, p. 973 ; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2615.

(p. 138), that Rishyaśringa, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-śiras, in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had *previously* come to the aśvamedha sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that Rishyaśringa now tells them that the king had performed austerity in order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a ceremony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient; there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and that this communication should have been reserved till the commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 we are told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (*prājāpatyaṁ naram*), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu then disappears.

In section 19 the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of the sacrifice, is related (*tato yajñe samāpte tu ṛitūnām śhaṭ samatyayuh | tataśchā dvādaśe māse ityādi*). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: *Jagannāthaṁ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | Kauśalyā 'janayat Rāmaṁ diya-lazana-saṁyutam | Kauśalyā śuśubhe tena putren-āmita-tejasā | yathā 'dhipena devānām Aditir Vajra-pāṇinā | [* bhavāya sa hi lokānām Rāvaṇasya badhāya cha | Viśṇor vīryārddhato jajñe Rāmo rājīva-lochanah | Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāṁ jajñe satya-parākramaḥ | sākād Viśṇoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | atha Lazmana-Satrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛiḍha-bhakti mahotsāhu Viśṇor*

ardhā-śaśvatīḥ ||) paśya jñānaṁ te Bhārata sūta-śoṇa-prasanna-dīpī |
śūrya-jñānaṁ te Sumitrā-kūṭire tīrṇatī-rasaḥ |

"Kāśyāpā born Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kāśyāpā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Aditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [*For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Vishṇu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvāṇa. Bhārata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikeyī, manifest as the fourth part of Vishṇu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Laxmaṇa and Satrugṇa, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Vishṇu]. Now Bhārata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion) under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel that the 13th and following sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Vishṇu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bhārata, Laxmaṇa, and Satrugṇa, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (a personage of less dignity than Vishṇu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

In a later section of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 75, we are told that Rāma was met by Parasurāma, who related to him a fight which had taken place between Vishṇu and Mahādeva. Two celestial bows, he says, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ prichhanti sma Pitāmahaḥ | Sītikanṭhasya
Vishṇoś cha balābala-nirīxayā | abhiprāyaṁ tu vijñāya devatānāṁ Pitā-
mahaḥ | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tāyoḥ satyavatām varāḥ | virodhe tu mahad

yuddham abhavad roma-harṣaṇam | Sitikaṇṭhasya Viṣṇoś cha paraspara-jāyaishinoḥ | tadā tu jṛimbitam śaivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | kūṅkāreṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhito 'tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgamyā sarśhi-saṅghaiḥ sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchitau praśamaṁ tatra jagmatus tau surottamau | jṛimbitaṁ tad dhanur dṛiṣṭvā śaivaṁ Viṣṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menire Viṣṇuṁ devāḥ sarśhi-gaṇās tathā | dhanū Rudras tu saṅkrুদ্ধo Videheshu mahāyaśāḥ | Devarātasya rājarsher dadau haste sa-sāyakam | idaṁ tu Vaiṣṇavaṁ Rāma dhanuḥ para-puraṇjāyam | Rīchike Bhārgave prādād Viṣṇuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam | "The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sitikaṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Viṣṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sitikaṇṭha and Viṣṇu, each of whom was eager to conquer the other. Śiva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāraṇas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Śiva had been relaxed by the prowess of Viṣṇu, the gods and rishis esteemed Viṣṇu to be superior. Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Viṣṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Viṣṇu gave this excellent deposit to Rīchika, the descendant of Bhṛigu." From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma, from whom the latter got it. Paraśurāma asks Rāma to bend it, if he can. Rāma bends the bow, fits an arrow on the string, and tells Paraśurāma that he will not shoot at him, because he is a Brahman. Paraśurāma confesses Rama's superiority (sect. 76, vv. 17 ff.)

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Viṣṇu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's trans. pp. 594 ff.) the Harivaṁśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Viṣṇu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa,

which I now proceed to quote from the text of the recently published Calcutta edition, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Calcutta text, though it follows the Devanāgarī version of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Viṣṇu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding part of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvana, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, Sect. 119, l. 1 ff.—*Tato hi dharmaṃ Rāmaḥ śruteśvā
vadatām girāḥ | dādhyau mahārttām āhuvātām vāṅpa-vyākula-lochanaḥ |
tato Vaiśravaṇo rājā Yamaś cha pūṣṭhāś aśa | Sahasrāśvāś cha devā
Varuṇaścha jalakaraḥ | aśv-ārūḥa-mayanaś śrīmān Mahādevo vṛiṣṭi-
dejaḥ | karttā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidām varaḥ |* [¹³⁶ *as cha
rājā Daśaratha vimānendāntarīna-gaḥ | abhyāyogāna taṃ deśam deva-rāja-
sama-dyutiḥ |*] *ete sarve samāgataḥ vimānaḥ sūrya-mandibhaḥ | āgama
nagarīm Lakṣmī abhijagmuḥ cha Rāghavam | tataś sa-kautābharaṇa
pragrīhya vipulān bhūjān | abruvaḥ tridāśa-śreṣṭhā Rāghavam prāṅjalī
sthitam | karttā sarvasya lokasya śreṣṭhā jñānavidām vibhūḥ | upesa
kathām Sītām patantīm haṃsarāhane | kathām deva-gana-śreṣṭham
ātmānam nācabudhyase | Rita-dhāmā Varuḥ pūrvam Varūṇam cha
Prajāpatiḥ | team trayāṅgām hi lokānam ādikarttā mayam prabhuḥ |
Rudrāṅgam aśtamo Rudraḥ Sādhyānam api pañchamaḥ | Aśvinau chāpi ti
karnau chandrādityau cha chakṛuḥ | ante chādau cha bhūtānam dṛiṣyau
team parantapa | upexase cha Vaidehīm mānuṣhaḥ prākṛito yathā | ity ukto
lokapālais taiḥ svāmi lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abravīt tridāśa-śreṣṭhān Rāmo
dharma-bhrītām varaḥ | ātmānam mānuṣham manye Rāmaṃ Daśarathāt-
majam | so 'haṃ yāścha yataś chāhaṃ bhagavān tad bravītu me | iti bruvā-
ṇam Kākutstham Brahmā brahma-vidām varaḥ | abravīt śrīṇu me vākyaṃ
satyaṃ satya-parākramaḥ | bhavān Nārāyaṇaś devaś śrīmānś chakrāyudhaś
prabhuḥ | eka-śṛiṅgo varāhas team bhūta-bhavya-sapatna-jit | axaram Bra-
hma satyaṃ cha madhye chānte cha Rāghava | lokānam team paro dharmo
Vivakṣenaś chaturbhujah | Śaṅga-dhanvā Hṛishikeśaś puruṣhaś puruṣho-
tamaḥ | ajitah khadga-dhṛig Viṣṇuḥ Kṛishṇaś chaiva vṛihadbalaḥ | Senā-*

¹³⁶ This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only.

nīr grāmanīḥ satyas tvam buddhis tvam xamā damaḥ | prabhavaś chāpyayaś
 cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karmā Mahendras tvam padma-
 nāḥho raṇānta-kṛit | śaranyam śaranam cha tvam āhur divyā maharsha-
 yaḥ | sahasra-śṛiṅgo vedātmā śata-śīrshā maharshabhaḥ | tvam trayānām
 hi lokānām ādi-karttā svayam prabhuḥ | siddhānām api sadhyānām āśrayaś
 chāsi pūrvaḥ | tvam yajñas tvam vashaṭkāras tvam oṃkāraḥ parāt paraḥ |
 prabhavam nidhanaṁ vā te na viduḥ ko bhavān iti | dṛīyase sarva-bhū-
 teshu brāhmaṇeshu cha goshu cha | dixu sarvāsu gaganē parvateshu nadīshu
 cha | sahasra-charaṇaḥ śrīmān śata-śīrshaḥ sahasra-dṛik | tvam dhārayasi
 bhūtāni vasudhām cha sa-parvatām | ante pṛithivyāḥ salile dṛīyase tvam
 mahoragaḥ | trīn lokān dhārayan Rāma deva-gandharva-dānavān | ahaṁ
 te hṛidayam Rāma jihvā devī Sarasvatī | devā romāṇi gātreṣu Brahmaṇā
 nirmītaḥ prabho | nimeshaḥ te smṛitā rātrir unmeṣho divasas tathā | sam-
 skārās te 'bhavan vedā naitad asti tvayā vinā | jagat sarvaṁ śarīraṁ te
 sthairyam te vasudhā-talam | Agniḥ kopāḥ prasādas te somaḥ śrīvatsa-
 laxaṇa | tvayā lokās trayāḥ krāntāḥ purā svair vikramāis tribhiḥ | Mahen-
 draś cha kṛito rājā Balim baddhvā sudūruṇam | [¹³⁷ yat paraṁ śrūyate
 jyotir yat paraṁ śrūyate tamaḥ | yat param parataś chaivā paramātmētī
 kathyase | paramākhyam paraṁ yach cha tvam eva pariḡīyase | sthity-
 utpatti-vināśānām tvam āhuḥ paramām gatim |] Sītā Laxmīr bhavān
 Viṣṇur devaḥ Kṛiṣṇaḥ prajāpatiḥ | badhārthaṁ Rāvanasyeha pravīṣṭo
 mānushīm tanum ityādi |

"Then the righteous Rama, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitṛis, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [* and that King Daśa-ratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: 'How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou

¹³⁷ These two lines occur in Gorresio's edition only.

wast] formerly the Vasa Ritadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sādhyas. The Aśvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregardest Sītā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,'¹²⁸ Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, thou, o being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Visvakṣena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow Sūrṅga, Hrishikeśa (lord of the senses), Puruṣa (the male), the highest of Puruṣas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Viṣṇu, and Kṛishna¹²⁹ of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the

¹²⁸ In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛishna is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: *Atha Brahmānugrahād eva Brahma-vidyānūmukhyasya śruty-ādi-siddhatayā tad-anūmukhyasya "ātmānam nābabudhyase" iti Brahmanāiva kṛitatev taj-jijñāsur eva svīyāya eva-rūpa-bodhanāya Brahmānam gurum ajña iva upāsad ity āha "ātmānam" iti* | "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how dost thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, to explain his own nature, and says 'I regard myself,' etc."

¹²⁹ If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛishna the son of Devakī, it must, if not an anachronism, be regarded as prophetic. The commentator makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (*kṛishṇas tad-varṇah*).

self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sādhyas, o thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, and the omkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.¹⁴⁰ This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, o thou whose mark is the Śrīvatsa. By thee the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction]. Sītā is Laxmī, and thou art Viṣṇu, the divine Kṛishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvaṇa," etc.

In the same way as Viṣṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇas, and other Vaiṣṇava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas though Kṛishṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 42, and another from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have

¹⁴⁰ The commentator explains *saṃskārāḥ* thus: *Saṃskriyante bodhyante ebhīr lokāḥ iti saṃskārāḥ praeritti-nivṛitti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ* | "*Saṃskāras* are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act." But this cannot well be the sense here.

seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Krishna is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 142) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Krishna, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies: while, as professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhândogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devaki. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Vrādhava, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In some passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the warrior. In these various passages, however, Krishna is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various epithets, various from Mahādeva; in his character as the rishi Nārāyaṇa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. When while acting as the ally of the Pandus, he destroys Sisupāla superhumanly with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified with the highest manner with Viṣṇu, who again, as I have said, is generally assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to cite a variety of passages illustrative of these various aspects.

1. The following short passage from the Chhândogya Upanishad (p. 142) is the earliest text yet known in which Krishna the son of Devaki is mentioned. It is extremely unimportant as respects the fact that he was as without any particulars of his character, from which we should have been glad to possess the opportunity to learn. It is, however, so famous as to obtain the credit of being the source of the meagre information that he was the son of Devaki, the wife of a man her named Ghora,¹⁶ and that he was called Krishna for the purpose of mystical lore as to become a great many things else.

तदा त्रिपुरारिः कुरुक्षेत्रे विराजते तदा त्रिपुरारिः कुरुक्षेत्रे विराजते तदा त्रिपुरारिः कुरुक्षेत्रे विराजते

तदा त्रिपुरारिः कुरुक्षेत्रे विराजते तदा त्रिपुरारिः कुरुक्षेत्रे विराजते तदा त्रिपुरारिः कुरुक्षेत्रे विराजते

apipāsa eva sa babhūva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "axitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁśītam asi" iti | "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Krishna the son of Devakī, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [*i.e.* desire], viz.: 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, *Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtle principle of breath.*'"

I quote some of the commentator's remarks on this important text :

Tad ha etad yajña-darśanaṁ Ghorō nāmata Āngiraso gotrataḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya śishyāya uktvā uvācha tad "etat trayam" ityādi-vyavahitena sambandhaḥ | sa cha etad darśanaṁ śrūtvā apipāsa eva anyābhyo vidyābho babhūva | itthaṁ cha viśiṣṭā iyaṁ vidyā yat Kṛishṇasya Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyāṁ prati triḍ-vichheda-karī iti puruṣa-yajña-vidyāṁ stauti | Ghorā Āngirasaḥ Kṛishṇāya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha | sa evaṁ yathokta-yajña-vid anta-velāyām maraṇa-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ | . . . prāṇa-saṁśītam prāṇasya saṁśītaṁ samyak tanūkṛitaṁcha sūx-maṁ tattvam asi . . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Āngirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Krishna the son of Devakī, his pupil, then said, etc. The connection of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the *Puruṣa*-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Krishna, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Krishna. It was this: 'Let him who knows the afore-said sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts . . . *prāṇa-saṁśītam* means, 'thou art the very minute, subtle principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the *Mahābhārata* in which Krishna is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the *Vana-parva* (vv. 1513-1656) in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the *Pāśupata*.

At a later stage of the poem (*Droṇa-parva*, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised

by Krishna to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Krishna hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Krishna then arrive (it does not clearly appear whether mentally or bodily) with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāsudeva (Krishna) bows down to the earth:

Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parva, vv. 2862 ff.—*Vāsudevas tu taṁ dṛiṣṭvā jagāma śirasā xitim | Pārthena saha dharmātmā grīṇan brahma sauātanaṁ | lokādīm viśva-karmāṇam ajam īśānam aveyayam | manasaḥ paramāṇu yonim khaṁ vāyuṁ jyotiṣhām nidhim | srashṭāraṁ vāridhārāṇām bhuvasha prakṛitim parām | deva-dānava-yazāṇām mānavānāṇcha sādhanam | yogānāṇcha param brahma triptam brahma-vidāṁ nidhim | charācharasya srashṭāram pratiharttāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahātmānaṁ śakra-sūrya-guṇodayam | evande taṁ tadā Kṛiṣṇo vāṇ-mano-buddhi-karmabhīḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāṁsaḥ sūxmādhyaṭma-padaishinaḥ | tam ajaṁ kāraṇ-ātmānaṁ jagmatuḥ śaraṇam Bhavam | Arjunaś chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo 'py avandata | jñātvā taṁ sarva-bhūtādīm bhūta-bhavya-bhavadbhavam | tatas tāv āgatau dṛiṣṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | suprasanna-manāḥ Sarvaḥ provācha prahasann iva | āgataṁ vām nara-śreṣṭhāc uttishṭhetām gata-klamau | kiṁcha vām īpsitaṁ vīrau manasaḥ xipram uchyatām | yena kāryeṇa samprāptau yuvām tat sādhayami kim | eriyatām ātmanaḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradadāmi vām |*

“The righteous Vāsudeva (Krishna) then, together with the son of Prithā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the

oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yaxas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Krishna then revered him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.¹⁴² Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtle and spiritual abode, seek after,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again revered that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyana, arrived, Sarva (Mahādeva) then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: ‘Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.’”

Krishna and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the “soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things” (*viśvātmane viśva-sriṇe viśvam āvṛitya tiśṭhate*). Arjuna then, after reverencing both Krishna and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the Satarudriya.¹⁴³ Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Krishna and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

The Anuśāsana-parva also contains several sections in which the

¹⁴² In a passage from the Sāntiparva, which I shall quote further on, Krishna explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations. But Mahādeva himself is here, and in the next passage, identified with the supreme Deity (Brahma).

¹⁴³ A hymn from the Yajur veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.

Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyana, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Viṣṇu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds¹⁴⁵ [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishna. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Krishna) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth (?). This Mādhava (Krishna) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Śiva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (*yuga*) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Krishna, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Krishna), when [seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him (Mahādeva ?) I behold none greater. This long-armed [Krishna] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent."

Bhīṣma then calls upon Krishna (whom he designates as Viṣṇu, and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras) to celebrate Mahādeva's greatness. Krishna accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

Na gatiḥ karmaṇāṁ śakyā vettum īśasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbha-pramukhā devāḥ sendrā maharshayaḥ | na vidur yasya bhavanam Adityāḥ sūzma-darśināḥ | sa kathāṁ nara-mātreṇa śakyo jñātum satām gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāmśchid bhagavato guṇān | bhavatāṁ kirttayishyāmi vrateśāya [vrateśasya ?] yathātatham | "The course of the deeds of Iśa (Mahādeva), cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Adityas the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies."

¹⁴⁵ The printed text reads *śīṣyate* "is beheld," but the sense seems to require *śīṣate*, "beholds."

Krishna then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys¹⁴⁶ (*kapindra-putrī*, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

Na hi te 'prāpyam astīha trishu lokeshu kiñchana | lokān sṛjyes tvam aparān ichhan Yadu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāni vratibhūtena śushyatā | ārādhya paśubharttārām Rukmīnyām janitāḥ sutāḥ | "For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Krishna). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds. By thee after twelve years' fasting and mortification,¹⁴⁷ and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukminī (another of his wives)."

Krishna promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavatī's wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himālaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634-652).¹⁴⁸ Krishna enters and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu (v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658).¹⁴⁹ The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishnu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

Hiranyakaśipur yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvāmaraśi-varyyam Sarvāt prāptam samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāḥ chhakraṁ varshārbudam ayodhayat | Vishvoś chakraṇcha tad ghoram vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śīrṇam purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvam dattam

¹⁴⁶ He is, however, called king of the bears in the Vishnu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, p. 547.

¹⁴⁷ This twelve years' austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anuśāsana-parva, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Krishna is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

¹⁴⁸ One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: *Kṛdanti sar-pair nakulā mṛigair vyōghrāścha mitra-vat | prabhāvād dīpta-tapasām sannikarṣhād mahātmanām |* "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents, and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah, xi. 6 ff: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

¹⁴⁹ In v. 655 the appellation *pūṇḍarikākṣa*, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of *adhovaja*, are applied to Krishna.

*chakraṁ tavānagha | jalāntara-charaṁ hatvā daityaṅcha bala-garvitam |
utpāditam Vṛishāṅkena dīptam jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā
tubhyaṁ durdharshaṁ tejasā 'dbhutam | na śakyaṁ drashtum anyena var-
jayitvā Pinākinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktaṁ tadā tu tat |
Sudarśanam tadā tasya loka nāma pratishṭhitam | taj jīrṇam abhavat tāta
Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyāṅge varadattasya dhīmataḥ |
na śastrāṇi vahanty ange chakraṁ vajra-śatāny api | ardamānāścha
vibudhā Graheṇa subaliyasā | Siva-datta-varān jaghnur asurendrān Surā
bhṛīṣam |*

"Hiranyakaśipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Vishṇu and the thunderbolt of Akhaṇḍala (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced by Mahādeva.¹⁵⁰ Bestowed upon thee by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pinākin (the bearer of the bow, *i.e.* Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Siva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (*mūrdhany āghrāya*) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.) In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the follow-

¹⁵⁰ In an account of Krishna's exploits in the Droṇa-parva, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni : *Kṛhṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayiteṁ Hutāśanam | Āgneyam astraṁ durdharshaṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahābalaḥ |* In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (*śaṅkha*) by conquering Panchajanya in the infernal regions.

ing are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishnu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,¹⁰¹ naked, with excited look (v. 742: *kṛidatā rishi-kanyābhir rishi-patnibhir eva cha | ūrdha-keśo mahāśepha nagnō vikṛita-lochanāḥ |*) He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.) Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon however great at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate at some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784-829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair īśaḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na śuśrūma yad anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair lingam

¹⁰¹ Literally, *ingenti membro virili præditus*.

muktvā Maheśvaram | archyate 'rchita-pūrvam vā brūhi yady asti te śrutih | yasya Brahmā cha Viṣṇuś cha tvam chāpi saha daivataih | archayethāḥ sadā liṅgam tasmāch chhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmāṅkā na chakrāṅkā na vajrāṅkā yataḥ prajāḥ | liṅgāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha tasmād Māheśvarī prajā | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitā[h] sarvā bhagāṅkā[h] striyo liṅgenāpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyaxa-chik-nikṛitāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam īśvarāt pravadata devyā cha yad nāṅkitam trailokyē sa-charāchare sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved durmatih | puṁliṅgam sarvam Īśanam strī-liṅgam viddhi chāpy Umām | dvābhyām tanubhyām vyāptam hi charācharam idaṁ jagat | "Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Maheśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Viṣṇu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things moveable or immoveable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, and all that is female to be Umā, for this whole world, moveable and immoveable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies."

Indra is not much pleased with this address; but Mahādeva himself appears with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837-841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Viṣṇu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869, f.):

Savya-deśe tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | divyam vimānam āsthāya haṁsa-yuktam mano-javam | vāma-pārśva-gataś chāpi tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ sthitah | Vainateyam samāruhya śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ |
 875 f. *Astvan vīdhaiḥ stotrair Mahādevam surās tadā | Brahmā Bhavam tadā 'staushid rathantaram udirayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deve-śam jagau Nārāyaṇas tadā | grīṇan brahma param Sakrah śata-rudriyam*

uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṇaś chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikah | asobhante mahātmanas trayas trayā ivāgnayah | 869. "On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus, and club. . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the *rathantara*, while Nārāyaṇa hymned the god of gods with the *jyeshṭha sāmān*, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent *Satarudriya*. Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, and the king of the gods (Indra) the son of Kuśika,¹⁸² the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires."

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880-923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

Sa esha bhagavān devaḥ sarva-sattvādir avyayaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhānā-jñāḥ pradhāna-purushaḥ paraḥ | yo 'srījat daksinād angād Brahmāṇaṁ loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārsvāt tathā Vishṇuṁ loka-raxārtham Īśvaraḥ | yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudram Īśo 'srījat prabhur ity ādi | "This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Puruṣa (or the principal Puruṣa), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishṇu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (*yuga*) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra," etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (*ātraudana*) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (*sānnidhya*) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945, ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Kṛishṇa expresses a

¹⁸² The epithet of *Kauśika* is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11.

desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Kṛishṇa in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Kṛishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Kṛishṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Viṣṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, uttering the rathantara sāma (*Sātakratuś cha bhagavān Viṣṇuś chāditi-nandanah | Brahmā rathantaram sāma irayanti Bhavāntike*). Kṛishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

Purastād dhishṭhitah Sarvo māmāsīt tridaśésvaraḥ | purastād dhishṭhitam drishṭvā mameśūnāṇcha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-Sakrāntam jagād mām abhyudaizata | igitum cha Mahādevam na me śaktir abhūt tadā | tato mām abravīd devaḥ “paśya Kṛishṇa vadasva cha | trayā hy āradhitaś chāham śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ | tvat-samo nāsti me kaśchit trishu lokeshu vai priyaḥ” | śirasā vandite devo devī prītā hy Umā 'bhavat | tato 'ham abruvam Sthānuṁ stutam Brahmādibhiḥ suraiḥ | “Before me stood Śiva the lord of the gods. Beholding, as I then did, Isāna standing before me—the world from Prajāpati to Śakra (Indra) gazed upon me (?)—I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, ‘Behold, Kṛishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me as thou.’ The god having been revered by obeisance, the goddess Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthānu (Mahādeva) who had been praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods.”

Kṛishṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): *Viḍmaḥ Kṛishṇa parām bhaktim asmāsu tava śatruhaṇ | vriyatām atmanaḥ śreyasḥ prītir hi tvayi me parā | vṛiṇishvāśṭau varān Kṛishṇa dātāsmi | tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-śārdūla yān ichhasi sudurlabhān |* “We know, Kṛishṇa, slayer of foes, thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee, for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them

to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons which are most difficult to obtain." Krishna then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2) the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the greatest strength, (5) abstraction (*yoga*), (6) amiability (*priyateam*), (7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4) eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappeared, and Krishna related to Upamanyu all that had happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Tanḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva, in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049-1103) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know (vv. 1052, and 1103-5). Tanḍi had come to Upamanyu's hermitage and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Krishna (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Tanḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Krishna :

Āsubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇo ye narāḥ kalushikṛitāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapadyante tamo-rājasa-vṛittayaḥ | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyante dvija bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā varttamāno 'pi yo bhaktaḥ parameśvare | sadṛśo 'raṇya-vāsānām muninām bhāvitātmanām | Brahmaivaṁ Keśavaivaṁ cha Sakrateam vā suraiḥ saha | trilokyasyādhipatyaṁ vā tuṣṭo Rudraḥ prayachhati ityādi | "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Īśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Īśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava

(Keśava is a name of Kṛishṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parva, 7402 ff., Kṛishṇa relates to Yudishthira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Duvāsas (an incarnation of Śiva, as it is stated below, pp. 166, 169) who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛishṇa's wife Rukmiṇī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛishṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukmiṇī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛishṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛishṇa performed an *Upāṇśu* rite, i.e. muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Duvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudishthira then says to Kṛishṇa (vv. 7458 ff.: *Duvāsasaḥ prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iha vijñānaṁ tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | mahābhāgyaṁcha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanaḥ | tattvato jñātum icchāmi sarvaṁ matimatām vara | Vāsudeva uvācha | Hanta te kirttayishyāmi namaskṛitya Kaparddine | yad avāptam mayā rājan śreyo yach chārjitāṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhiye viśāmpate | prāñjaliḥ śatarudriyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śṛiṇu | Prajāpatis tat sasṛje tapaso 'nte mahātapaḥ | Saṅkaras tv asṛijat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jaṅgamāḥ | nāsti kiñchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishv api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivotsahate sthātum kiñchid agre mahātmanaḥ | na hi bhūtaṁ samaṁ tena trishv lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi saṅgrāme tasya kruddhasya śatravaḥ | viśāñjā hata-bhūyishthā vepante cha patanti cha | ghoraṁcha ninadaṁ tasya Parjanya-ninadopamam | śrutevā viśīryed hṛidayaṁ devānāṁ api saṁyuge | yāmscha ghoreṇa rūpeṇa paśyet kruddhaḥ pināka-dhṛik | na surā nāsura loko na gandharvā na pannagāḥ | kupite sukham edhante tasminn api guhāgatāḥ | Prajāpates tu Dasya yajato vitate kratau | vivyādha kupito yajñāṁ nirbhayaḥ tv abhavat tadā | dhanushā vāṇam utsṛijya saghoshāṁ vinanādā cha | tena śarma kutāḥ sāntiṁ vishādāṁ lebhire surāḥ | viddhe cha sahasā yajñe kupite cha Mahēsvare | tena jyā-tala-ghoshena sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | babhāvur avasāḥ Pārtha vishedaḥ cha surāsuraḥ | āpaś chuzubhire chaiv chakampe cha vasundharā | vyadravan giriryaś chāpi dyauḥ paphāla cha*

sarvasaḥ | sadāna tamasa lokāḥ prāpītā na chakāsire | prāṇashtā jy-
 tiḥkām bhās cha saha sūryena Bhārata | bhṛīsam bhūtās tataḥ śāntān
 chakrūḥ sandhyayānāni cha | rishayaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ātmanā cha
 kilāshikāḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyaद्राच devān Rudro raudra-parākrantāḥ |
 Bhagaya mayama krudhāḥ prahareṇa vyaśatayat | Pāshāṇām chakhi-
 drāra pādāna cha ruskānritaḥ | puroḍāśam bhaxayato daśanāni cha
 vyaśatayat | tataḥ prajenur devās te vepamānās tu Saṅkaram | pīṇā
 cha sandadhe Rudro dīptān suniśitān śaram | Rudrasya vikramān
 dṛiḥktā bhīṭā devāḥ saharābhīḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmāsuḥ sarve te
 cūḍāhottamāḥ | japaḥ cha śata-rudriyām devāḥ kṛitvā 'ñjalīm tadā |
 samatīyamānas tridāśaiḥ prasāda Maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgaṁ yañe
 cha viśiḥktān te te abalpayan | bhayena tridāśā rājan śaranām cha pr-
 peditre | tena chaiva hi duḥṭena (tushṭena?) sa yañño sandhito 'bharat | yad
 yad chāpahrītān tatra tat tathāiva sa jīrayat | Asurāṇām purāṇyāṇān
 triṇi cīryavatām divi | āyasaṁ rājatām chaiva saurarnam api chāparān |
 nāsakat tāni Magharā bhettuṁ sarvāyudhair api | atha sarve Mahārudrān
 jagmuḥ śaranam arddhitāḥ | tata āhur mahātmāno devāḥ sarve samogataḥ |
 Rudro raudrā bhavishyanti paśavaḥ sarva-karmasu | jāhi daityaṁ ita
 purair lokāns trayasra mānada | sa tathoktas tathety ukteḥ kṛitvā Vā-
 ṇasā śarottamam | śalyam Agniṁ tathā kṛitvā puṅkham Faivaivaśān
 yamam | vedān kṛitvā dhanuḥ sarvān jyām cha sūcitrīm uttamām | Brah-
 māṇām sārathīm kṛitvā vinīyujya cha sarvasaḥ | triparcānā trisālyeṇa
 kile tāni bibheda saḥ | śarenāditya-varuṇa kālāgni-sama-tejasā | te surāḥ
 sa-purās tatra dagdhā Rudreṇa Bhārata | tam chaivāṅka-gatān dṛiḥktā
 bālam pañchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jīṇāsamānā vai ko 'yam ity abravīt
 tadā | asūyatās cha Sukrasya vajreṇa praharishyatalaḥ | sa vajrām śambha-
 yāmāsa tam bāhum parighopamam | na sambududhire chaiva devās tam
 bhuvaneśvaram | sa-prajāvatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahatiśvare | tato dhyā-
 tvā tu bhagavān Brahmā tam amitaujasam | ayaṁ śreṣṭha iti jñātvā
 cavande tam Umā-patim | tataḥ prasādayāmāsur Umām Rudrām cha te
 surāḥ | babbhūva sa tadā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa chāpi brāh-
 maṇo bhūtvā Dureśā nāma cīryavān | Dvāravatyām māmā pure chīrān
 kālam upāvasat | viprakārān prayukte sma subāhūn māmā veśmani |
 tān udāratayā chāham chaxame chāti-duḥśahān | sa vai Rudrāḥ sa cha
 Sivaḥ so 'gniḥ Sarvaḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chendras cha Vāyuḥ cha so
 'śvinau sa cha Vidyutāḥ | sa chandramāḥ sa cheśānaḥ sa Sūryo Varuṇas
 cha saḥ | sa kālāḥ so 'ntako mṛityuḥ sa tamō rātry aḥāni cha | māśar-

*dha-māsā ritavaḥ sandhye saṁvatsarasā cha saḥ | sa dhātā sa vidhātā cha
 viśvakarmā sa sarva-vit | nazatrāṇi grahās chaiva diśo 'tha vidīśas tathā |
 viśva-mūrttir ameyātmā bhagavān amara-dyutiḥ | ekadhā cha dvīdhā chaiva
 bahudhā cha sa evi hi | tathā sahasradhā chaiva tathā śata-sahasraśaḥ |
 īdriśaḥ sa Mahādevo bhūmaḥ sa bhagavān ajaḥ | na hi śakyā guṇā vaktum
 api varsha-śatair api | Yudhishthira mahābāho mahābhāgyam mahāt-
 manaḥ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahu-nāmne nibodha me | Vadanty
 Agniṁ Mahādevaṁ tathā Sthānum Maheśvaram | ekāxam tryambakam
 chaiva viśva-rūpaṁ Sivaṁ tathā | dve tanū tasya devasya brāhmaṇā veda-
 jñā viduḥ | ghorāṁ anyāṁ śivāṁ anyāṁ te tanū bahudhā punaḥ | ugrā
 ghorā tanūr yā sā so 'gnir vidyut sa bhāskaraḥ | śivā saumyā cha yā tv
 aya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandramāḥ | ātmano 'rddhaṁ tu tasyāgniḥ somo
 'rddham punar uchyate | brahmacharyyaṁ charaty ekā śivā yā 'sya tanus
 tathā | yā 'sya ghoratama mūrttir jagat saṁharate tadā | īśvaratvād mahat-
 vācā cha Maheśvara iti smṛitāḥ | yad nirdahati yat tixno yad ugro yat
 pratāpavān | māmśa-śonita-majjādo yat tato Rudra uchyate | devānām
 sumahān yach cha yach chāsya viśhaya mahān | yach cha viśvam mahat
 pāti Mahādevas tataḥ smṛitāḥ | dhūmra-rūpaṁ cha yat tasya dhūrjatīty
 ata uchyate | sa medhayati yad nityaṁ sarvān vai sarva-karmabhiḥ |
 manushyān śivam anvichhaṁs tasmād eva Sivaḥ smṛitāḥ | ityādi*

Anuśāsana-parva, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishthira says to Krishna: “Thou oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. I wish, most eminent of sages, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his names. Vāsudeva replies: Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing down before the god with the braided hair (Mahādeva), the happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired. Hear from me, o king, the Satarudrīya, which, when risen in the morning, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati, created that [prayer¹⁵²] at the end of his austerity. Sankara has created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, o king, which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this great deity: for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (*lit.* ‘even by a scent’)

¹⁵² It is a part of the Veda. Compare Part III. of this work, on the modes in which the Veda is conceived to have been produced.

incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain. And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (i.e. of the thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pannagas, nor whomsoever the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), incensed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daxa was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud sound. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāśa offering. The gods trembling then made obeisance to Sankara, and he again fitted on the string (?) the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Maheśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as their refuge. He then became pleased and replaced the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before. There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,¹⁸⁴ which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there

¹⁸⁴ See the Second Part of this work, pp. 395 ff., and the Karna-parva, vv. 1402 ff., below.

shall be beasts devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,¹⁶⁸ he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra. Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks (?), Umā, desiring to know, asked, 'Who is this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and that arm resembling a club. All the gods, including Prajāpati, did not understand the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant?]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Siva, he is Agni, he is Sarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Sūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions or [points], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast (?), the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Krishna proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudishthira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthāṇu,

¹⁶⁸ See the story from the Kārpa-parva, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Siva. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious; and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (*īśvara*) and great (*mahat*), he is called *Maheśvara*. Since he consumes, since he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjati. Since he constantly directs all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (*śiva*), he is therefore called Siva," etc. etc.

In the Bhīshma-parva (vv. 793 ff.) Krishna is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā :

*Saṁjaya uvācha | Dhārttarāshṭram balaṁ dṛishṭvā yuddhāya saṁyug-
sthitaṁ | Arjunasya hitārthāya Kṛishṇo vachanam abravīt | Sītī-bhagavān
uvācha | Suchir bhūtva mahābāho saṅgrāmābhimukhe sthitaḥ | parā-
jaya śatrūnām Durgā-stotram uṭṭiraya | Saṁjaya uvācha | evam ukto
'rjunah saṅkhye Vāsudevena dhīmatā | avatīrya rathāt Pārthaḥ stotram
āha kṛitāñjaliḥ |*

"Beholding the host of Dhṛitarāshṭra come near to the conflict, Krishna, for the good of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, o large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 142, note 134) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Krishna is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabhā-parva, in which Sīśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Krishna, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhisthira having proposed to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice, numerous kings assembled to witness the celebration (Sabhā-parva, 1260 ff.) On this occasion Bhīṣma proposed that apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛishṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parva, 1333 ff.:—*Esha hy'eshām samastānām tejo-bala-parā-kramaiḥ | madhye tapann ivābhāti jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryeṇā nirvāta[m?] iva vāyunā | bhāsitaṁ hlāditam chaiva Kṛishṇene-dam sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīṣmādhyanyujñātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavan | upajahre 'tha vidhivad Vārshneyāyārgham uttamam | pratijagrāha tat Kṛishṇaḥ śāstra-dishṭeṇa karmajā | Sīsupālas tu tām pūjām Vāsudeve na chazame |* "For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīṣma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārshneya (Kṛishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra."

Sīsupāla, as I have said, could not endure that this compliment should have been paid to Kṛishṇa, and states at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Kṛishṇa was a "transgressor of the injunctions of law (*smṛiti*), a contemptible and ill-instructed person" (v. 1340: *Ayam cha smṛity atikrānto hy'apageyo 'lpa-darśanaḥ*); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: *Athavā manyase Kṛishṇam sthaviṛam Kura-pungava | Vasudeve sthito vṛiddho kathām arhati tat-sutaḥ |*); that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: *Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjām team punar bahu manyase | havishaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāsītā śveva 'nirjane |*). Having thus vented his indignation, Sīsupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhisthira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīṣma then defends Kṛishṇa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

*Na hi kṛmāṇa amāṇa ayam archayatamo 'chryutah | trayāṇām api
 bhūtanā archoḥya mahābhūjā | Kṛishṇena hi jīta yuddhe bahunā
 nātrigrahāṇā | jagat sarvāt cha Vārahṇye nikhilena pratishṭhitam |
 ānāt ante api vṛddhāḥ Kṛishṇam archāmi netarān | . . . 1382:
 Nā kṛmāṇa ayam kṛmāṇa Chedi-rāja Jamārdanam | na sambandam
 paratṛya kṛmāṇa vi kṛmāṇa | archāmahe 'rchitām sūbhā
 bhāvi bhūta-māhātmanā | Taisā śūryaṇ jayaṇ chāsya vijñāyārāṇ
 gṛāyamahe | na cha bhūtiā bhūmābhāḥ svālo 'py aparīṇitā | guṇā
 vṛddhā nātranya Hari archayatamo mataḥ | jñāna-vṛddhō devjātina
 nātrigrahāṇa bhūmābhāḥ | " 1377: This unfailing being (Achyuta) is not
 only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is
 also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Xatriyas
 have been conquered by Kṛishṇa: and the whole world rests upon
 Vārahṇya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I
 worship Kṛishṇa and not the others. . . . " 1382: It is not therefore
 from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our
 connection, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we
 worship Jamārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who
 promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism,
 and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere
 youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his
 virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy of worship. In knowledge
 he excels Brahmans, and in force Xatriyas."*

1386: *Pūjyātūyāḥ Govindē hetu deva api samsthitau | veda-vedāṅga-
 vijñānam balaṇ chāpy adhikaṇ tathā | nṛinām loka hi ko 'nyo 'sti vishik-
 ṭah Keśavād rite | dānam dāryaṇ śrutaṇ śūryaṇ hṛt kirttir buddhir
 uttamā | sannatiḥ śrīr dhṛitiḥ tushṭiḥ pūṣṭiḥ cha niyātā 'chryute | tam
 imāṇ loka-sampannam āchāryam pitarāṇ gurum | arghyam architam
 archārham sarve samxantum arhatha | riteḥ gurur vicāhyaḥ cha snātako
 nṛipatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvām etad Hṛishikeśas tasmād abhyarchito 'chryutah |
 Kṛishṇa eva hi lokānām utpattir api chāpyayaḥ | Kṛishṇasya hi kṛite
 viśvam idam bhūtaṇ charācharam | eṣha prakṛitir avyaktā karttā chaica
 sanātanaḥ | parāḥ cha sarva-bhūtebhyas tasmād pūjyatamo 'chryutah |
 Buddhir mano mahad vāyus tejo 'mbhaḥ kham mahi cha yā | chatur-
 vidham cha yad bhūtam sarvām Kṛishṇe pratishṭhitam |
 1396: *Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayaṇ tu
 bālah Sīśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Kṛishṇam**

*tasmād evam prabhāshate | yo hi dharmam vichinuyād utkrishṭam
matimān naraḥ | sa vai paśyed yathā dharmam na tathā Chedi-rāḍ ayam |
sa-ṛiddha-bāleshv athāvā pāṛthiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate
Kṛishṇam ko vā py enam na pūjayet | athainām dushkṛitām pūjām Siśu-
pālo vyavasyati | dushkṛitāyām yathānyāyām tathā 'yam karttum arhati |*

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāngas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hrishīkesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Kṛishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this univérse, moveable and immoveable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Kṛishṇa.¹⁵⁵ He is undistinguishable matter (*prakṛiti*) and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (*mahat*), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Kṛishṇa. . . . 1396: The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Siśupāla, does not know that Kṛishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Kṛishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Siśupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting."

Siśupāla afterwards renews his denunciations of Kṛishṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

¹⁵⁵ The grounds urged for honouring Kṛishṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of Kṛishṇa's qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.

1433. *Sisupāla uvācha* | *vibhīshikābhir bahvibhir bhīshayan vartopārthivān* | *na vyapatrapase kasmād vṛiddhaḥ san kula-pāṃsanah* | *yuktam etat tritīyāyām prakṛitau carttatā tvayā* | *vaktuṃ dharmād apelarthaṃ tvam hi sarva-kurūllama[h]* | *nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho vā 'ndham anviyāt* | *tathā bhūtā hi Kauravyā yeshām Bhīshma tam agrāṇi* | *Pūtānā-ghāta-pūrvāni karmāny asya viśeshataḥ* | *tvayā kīrtityatā 'smākam bhūyaḥ pravayathitam manah* | *avalīptasya mūrkhasya Keśavam stotum ichhataḥ* | *katham Bhīshma na te jīhvā śatadheyam vidīryate* | *yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhīshma bālatarair naraiḥ* | *tam imāṃ jūnā-vṛiddhaḥ san gopam saṃstotum ichhasi* | *yady anena hatā bālye śakuniś chitram atra kim* | *tau vā 'śva-vṛishabhau Bhīshma yau na yuddha-viśaradau* | *chetanā-rahitaṃ kāshṭhaṃ yady anena nīpātīlan* | *pādena śakaṭam Bhīshma tatra kim kṛitam adbhutam* | *valmika-mātṛeḥ saptaḥam yady anena dhṛito 'chalaḥ* | *tadā Govardhano Bhīshma na tasya chitram matam mama* | *bhuktam etena bahe annam kṛīdatā naga-mūrdhani* | *iti te Bhīshma sṛiṇvānāḥ paraṃ vismayam āgatāḥ* | *yasya chānena dharmajña bhuktam annam baliyasah* | *sa chānena hataḥ Kāṃsah ity etan na mahādhitam* | *na te śrutam idam Bhīshma nūnam kathayatām satām* | *yad vaxye tvām adharmajñam vākyaṃ Kuru-kulādharma* | *strīṣhu goṣhu na śāstrāṇi pūṭayed brāhmaṇeshu cha* | *yasya chānnāni bhuñjīta yasya cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ* | *iti santo 'nūśāsanti sajjanaṃ dharmīnaḥ eadā* | *Bhīshma loka hi tat sarvaṃ vitathaṃ tvayi dṛīsyate* | *jūnā-vṛiddhaṃ cha vṛiddhaṃ cha bhūyāṃsaṃ Keśavam mama* | *ajānata ivākhyāsi saṃstuvan Kauravādharma* | *go-ghnaḥ strī-ghnaś cha san Bhīshma tvad-vākyaḥ yadī pūjyate* | *evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhīshma katham saṃstavam arhati* | . . .

1451. *Nūnam prakṛitir eśhā te jaghanyā nātra saṃśayaḥ* | *ataḥ pāpīyastī chaishām Pāṇḍavānām apīshyate* | *yeshām archyatamaḥ Kṛishnaś tvam cha yeshām pradarsakaḥ* | *dharmavāṃs tvam adharmajñah satām mārgād avaplutaḥ* | *ityūdi* |

Sisupāla answers *Bhīshma*: "How is it that thou, disgracing thy race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with many alarming [speeches]? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now existing in the neuter gender (*i.e.* an old man, and passionless) shouldst utter things contrary to righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus! For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another, so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, *Bhīshma*, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been harassed by

thee when detailing his (Krishna's) slaughter of Pūtana¹⁵⁷ and other feats. How is it, Bhīshma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in knowledge, art eager to eulogise the cowherd who ought to be vilified even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew Sakuni (or the bird), or the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder? If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot,¹⁵⁸ what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana, a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,¹⁵⁹ I do not regard that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, o Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women, cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent?' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil]. All this, Bhīshma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is to be revered,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shewn to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Krishna is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!"

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīshma from assaulting Śiśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīshma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Śiśupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the

¹⁵⁷ A female demon slain by Krishna.—See Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 506.

¹⁵⁸ See *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 508.

¹⁵⁹ See *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 526.

time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's enquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Krishna came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.¹⁶⁰ On seeing this, his mother begged a boon from Krishna, viz., that he would forgive Siśupāla's offences. Krishna promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīshma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

*Evam esha nṛipaḥ pāpaḥ Siśupālaḥ sumanda-dhīḥ | tvām samāhecyate
vīra Govinda-vara-darpiṭaḥ | Naishā Chedi-pater buddhir yayā tvā "ka-
yate 'chyutam | nūnam esha jagad-bharttuḥ Kṛishṇasyaiva viniśchayaḥ |
ko hi mām Bhīmasenādya xitāv arhati pārthivaḥ | xeptum kālā-pari-
tātmā yathaiśha kula-pāmsanaḥ | esha hy asya mahābāhus tejo 'mśās cha
Harer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum ichhaty uta tathā vibhuḥ |
yenaisha Kuru-sārdūla sārūla iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty atīva durbuddhiḥ
sarvān asmān achintayan |*

"Thus this wicked king Siśupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, o hero. This does not shew wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Krishna, the sustainer of the world, 'What king on earth, o Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?' For this large-armed (Siśupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in

¹⁶⁰ On this story of Siśupāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. 674): "Siśupāla here represents S'iva, and the conflict of the S'iva-worship with that of Vishnu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the disappearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Krishna. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Krishna's deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god: but there are evident beginnings of his deification." The same author adds in a note on the same page: "Siśupāla is probably an earlier name of S'iva, who is called *Paśupati*, or lord, protector, of beasts. *S'isu* denotes the young of men and beasts, and *pāla* protector. He had a second name *Sunītha* (Sabhāp. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."

consequence of which, o chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

Śiśupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.) and asks why Kṛṣṇa should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīṣma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīṣma should be killed or burned. Bhīṣma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Kṛṣṇa, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that anyone who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Śiśupāla hereupon challenges Kṛṣṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verses 1561 ff.): *Tataḥ śrutevaiva Bhīṣmasya Chedi-rāḍ uru-vikramah | yuyutsur Vāsudevena Vāsudevam uvācha ha | āhwaye tvām ranam gachha mayā sārddham Janārdana | yāvad adya nihanmi tvām sahitaṁ sarva-Pāṇḍavāḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Kṛṣṇa Pāṇḍavāḥ | nṛpatin samatikramya yair arājā tvam architah | ye tvām dāsam arājānam bālyād archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛṣṇa badhyās te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-sārdūla[s?] tathau garjann amarṣanaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Kṛṣṇo mṛidu-pūrvam idaṁ vachah | uvācha pāṛthivān sarvān sa samazam cha Pāṇḍavān | esha naḥ śatrur atyantam pāṛthivāḥ Sāteati-sutaḥ | Sāteatānām nṛśaṁsātmā nahito 'napakārinām | Prāgyotiṣha-puram yātān asmān jñātvā nṛśaṁsa-kṛit | adahad Dvārakām esha svasṛiyāḥ san narādhipāḥ | kṛīdato Bhoja-rājasya esha Raivatake girau | hatvā baddhvā cha tān sarvān upāyāt sva-puram purā | āśvamedhe hayam medhyam ulsṛiṣṭam raxibhir vṛitam | pitur me yājña-vighnārtham aharat pāpa-niśchayaḥ | Sauvīrān pratiyātāṁcha Babhror esha tapasvinah | bhāryām abhyaharad mohād akāmā[m?] tām ito gatām | esha māyā-pratichhannah Kārūṣhārthe tapasvinim | jahāra bhadram Vaiśatim mātulasya nṛśaṁsa-vat | pitṛi-svasuḥ kṛite duḥkham sumahad marshayāmy aham | diṣṭyā hidaṁ sarva-rājñām sannidhāv adya varttate | paśyanti hi bhavanto 'dya mayy ateva vyatikramam | kṛitāni tu paroṣam me yāni tāni nibodhata | imaṁ tv asya na śasyāmi xantum adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukmiṇyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanāśid mumūrshataḥ | na cha tām prāptavān mūḍhaḥ śūdraḥ veda-śrutiṁ iva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitaḥ te narādhipāḥ | Vāsudevavachah śrutevā Chedi-rājāṁ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śruteḥ*

*Sisupālah pratāparān | jahāsa svanavuddhāsaṁ vākyaṁ chedam uvācha
 ha | mat-pūrvām Rukmīṣīm Kṛishṇa asmāccha parikirttayan | viśeshah
 pārthivāku vridhān na kurvahe katham | manyamāno hi kaḥ satsu puruṣaḥ
 parikirttayet | anyā-pūrvām śtriyāṁ jātu tad-anya Madhusūdana | zama
 vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛishṇa mama zama | kruddhād vā 'pi
 prasannād vā kīm me teṣṭo bhaviṣhyati | tathā bruvata eśāya
 bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | manasā 'chintayach chakraṁ dāitya-gaṛa-
 nisūdanam | etasminn eka kāle tu chakre hasta-gate sati | uvācha
 bhagavān uchchair vākyaṁ vākya-viśāradaḥ | śṛṇvantu me mahipālā
 yenaitat samitam mayā | aparādha-kṛtām rāmyam mātur asyaiva yāchase |
 dattam mayā yāchitam cha tad vai pūṇam hi pārthivāḥ | adhunā ba-
 dhayishyāmi paśyatām vo mahizitam | evam uktvā Yada-śreshṭhaś Chedi-
 rājasya tat-zaṇāt | vyapāharach chhiraḥ kruddhaś chakreṇāmitra-kar-
 shaṇaḥ | sa papāta mahābāhur vajrāhata ivāchalaḥ |*

“ Having heard Bhīshma, the king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, then addressed the latter : ‘ I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṇḍavas. For together with thee, Kṛishṇa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṇḍavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. They who, through childishness, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.’ Having so spoken, the chief of kings stood raging and impatient. Kṛishṇa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṇḍavas, in their presence : ‘ This son of Sātvatī, o princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sāttvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, our sister’s son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgjyotiṣhas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father’s sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he wickedly carried off for the Kārusha the devout and virtuous Bhadrā Vaiśālī, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father’s sister (Sisupāla’s

mother), I submit to great vexation. Luckily, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them now from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṇī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the veda.' Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva, all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty Siśupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it that thou art not ashamed, Kṛishṇā, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmiṇī, who was betrothed to me?'¹⁶¹ For what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Kṛishṇa, if thou hast generosity, or refuse to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusūdana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daityas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, o kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yadus, the vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of

¹⁶¹ Rukmiṇī had been betrothed to Siśupāla, as we are told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573): *Bhīṣmakah Kuṇḍine rājā Vidarbha-vishaye 'bhavat | Rukmī tasyābhavat putro Rukmiṇī cha varāṅganā | Rukmiṇīm chakame Kṛishṇah sū cha tām chāru-hṛsinī | na dadau yāchate chainām Rukmī dvesheṇa chakrīṇe | dadau cha Siśupātāya Jarāsandha-prachoditah | Bhīṣmako Rukmiṇā sārddham Rukmiṇīm uru-vikramah |* "Bhīṣmaka was king in Kundina, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmiṇī (his daughter). Kṛishṇa loved Rukmiṇī, and the sweet-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarāsandha, Bhīṣmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to Siśupāla." Kṛishṇa comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding.

the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt."¹⁶²

Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarāshṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Krishna's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parva (vv. 2523 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Krishna, "who," he says, "being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven" (*prithivīṇchāntarīraṇcha dyāṇchaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva viśiṣṭātmā nayaty ātma-vaśaṁ vaśi |*) He then goes on to say:

Ekato vā jagat kṛtsnam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛtsnaś atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ | na cha kṛtsnam jagach chhaktam bhasmikarttuṁ Janārdanam | yataḥ satyaṁ yato dharma yato hrīr ārjamaṁ yataḥ | tato bhavati Govinda yataḥ Kṛishṇaś tato jayaḥ | prithivīm chāntarīraṇcha divāṇcha Purushottamaḥ | vicheshṭhayati bhūtātmā kṛdānniva Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛtvā Pāṇḍavān sattraṁ lokaṁ sammohayann iva | adharmā-niratān mūḍhān dagdhūn ichhati te sutān | kālā-chakraṁ jagach-chakraṁ yuga-chakraṇcha Keśavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivarttayate 'nisam | kālasya cha hi mṛityoścha jaṅgama-sthāvarasya cha | īśate bhagavān ekaḥ satyam etad bravīmi te | īśann api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāṇy ārabhate karttuṁ kināśa iva varddhanāḥ | tena vañchayate lokān māyāyogena

¹⁶² We are told in the Vishnu Parāna (see Wilson's translation, p. 437) that S'isupala had been in a former birth the Daitya Hiranyakasipu, who was killed by Vishnu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Ravana, who was slain by Rama. In his character as S'isupala he evinced a greater hatred than ever towards Vishnu, "a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth," and was in consequence slain by him; but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the supreme being," S'isupala became united with him after death; for the lord gives "to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire," and "bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure." This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Krishna as an object of hatred was ever present to S'isupala's thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of S'isupala's brother, king of the S'alvas (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dyāraṁ, his desire to slay Krishna, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parva, vv. 615-890.

Keśavaḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānavāḥ | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | katham tvaṁ Mādhavaṁ vettha sarva-loka-maheśvaram | katham enaṁ na vedāhaṁ tad mamāchakṣva Sañjaya | Sañjaya uvācha | śṛṇu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hīyate | vidyā-hīno tamo-dheasto nābhijānāti Keśavam | vidyayā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | karttāram akṛitāṁ devam bhūtānāṁ prabhavāpyayam | . . . māyāṁ na sve bhadrāṁ te na vrithā dharmam āchare | śuddha-bhāvaṁ gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedmi Janārdanam | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | Duryodhana Hṛishīkeśam prapadyasva Janārdanam | āpto naḥ Sañjayas tāta śaraṇaṁ gachha Keśavam | Duryodhana uvācha | Bhagavān Devaki-putro lokānś ched nihanishyati | pravādann Arjuno sakhyaṁ nāhaṁ gachhe 'dya Keśavam |

"On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore is he Govinda; since he is Krishna, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made the Pāndavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhṛitarāshṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava by his own abstraction (*yoga*) makes the circles of time, of the world, and of the ages (*yugas*), continually to revolve. This divine being alone is lord of time, of death, and of things moveable and immoveable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Harī, the great contemplator, though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛitarāshṭra said: How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. Sanjaya answered: Hear, o king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize Madhusūdana who exists in the three ages (*yugas*), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction." Dhṛitarāshṭra asks Sanjaya for a further explanation of his devotion to Krishna. Sanjaya proceeds: "I do not pursue a delusion, bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the

scripture (*śāstra*). Dhṛitarāshṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishīkeśa, Janārdana: Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: go to Keśava as thy refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devaki should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort to-day to Keśava."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that "when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (*nihatō Bhīmasenena smṛtāsi vachanam pituḥ*). After some further conversation, Dhṛitarāshṭra asks to be further instructed about Kṛishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

*Sanjaya uvācha | śrutam me Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvachanānāṁ śubham |
yāvat tatrabhijāne 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ | vasanāt sarva-bhūtānāṁ
vasutvād deva-yonitāḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vṛihatvād Viṣṇur uchyate |
maunād dhyānāch cha yogāchecha viddhi Bhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tatt-
vamayatvāch cha Madhuhā Madhusūdanah | kṛishir bhū-vāchakah śabdo
naścha nirvṛiti-vāchakah | Viṣṇus tad-bhāva-yogāchecha Kṛishṇo bhavati
Sāttvātāḥ | puṇḍarikam param dhāma nityam azayam avyayam | tad-
bhāvāt Puṇḍarikāzo dasyu-trāsāj Janārdanaḥ | yataḥ sattvād na chyavate
yach cha sattvād na hiyate | sattvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād ārshabhāḥ
Vṛishabhexanaḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam ajas tasmād anikajit | devānāṁ
sva-prakāśatvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | harshāt sukhāt sukhaisācaryyād
hṛishīkeśatvam aśnute | bāhubhyām rodasī bibhrad mahābāhur iti smṛitah |
adho na xīyate jātu yasmāt tasmād adhoḥrajah | narāṇāṁ ayanāch
chāpi tato Nārāyaṇah smṛitah | pūranāt sadanāch chāpi tato 'sau
Purushottamaḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva sarvasya prabhavāpyayāt | sar-
vasya cha sadā jñānāt Sarvam etam pracharato | satye pratishṭhitah
Kṛishṇah satyam atra pratishṭhitam | satyāt satyañcha Govindas tasmāt
Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Viṣṇur vikramaṇād devo jayanāj Jishṇur uchyate |
śāśvatastvād Anantaścha Govindo vedanād gavām | atattvaṁ kurute tatt-
vaṁ tena mohayate prajāḥ | evaṁvidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Madhusū-
danaḥ | āgantā hi mahābāhur āṇṛisaṁsyārtham achyutaḥ |*

"Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (*vṛihatvāt*) he is called Viṣṇu. From his silence,

(*maunāt*) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be *Mād-hava*. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is *Madhuhan*, and *Madhusūdana*. The word *krishi* denotes 'earth,' and *na* denotes 'cessation' (?); *Vishṇu*, from containing the nature of these things, is *Krishṇa*, the *Sātvata*. *Puṇḍarīka* means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he is *Puṇḍarikāxa*. From terrifying the *Dasyus* he is *Janārdana*. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (*sattva*), therefore, from his existence, he is *Sātvata*, and from his excellence (*ārshabhat*) he is *Vrishabhexana*. As he is not generated by a father, he is the unborn, the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination of the gods, and from self-restraint (*dama*), the all-pervading is *Dāmodara*. He obtains his character as *Hrishīkeśa* from joy (*harsha*), pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two worlds with his arms, he is called *Mahābāhu* (*great-armed*). Since he never sinks downwards (*adho na ziyate*) he is *Adhoṣaja*. From movement among men (*narāṇām¹⁶³ ayanat*) he is called *Nārāyana*. From filling (*pūranāt*) and from abiding (*sadanāt*) he is *Purushottama*. Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (*sarvasya*) both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they call him *Sarva*. *Krishṇa* is based on truth (*satye*) and truth is based on him, and from his truth *Govinda* is truth, therefore he is also called *Satya*. The god is called *Vishṇu* from striding (*vikramanāt*), *Jishṇu* from conquering (*jayanāt*), *Ananta* from his eternity, and *Govinda* from the knowledge of cattle¹⁶⁴ (*vedanād gavām*).

¹⁶³ Perhaps the true reading is *nārūṇām*, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited above, p. 26.

¹⁶⁴ Another explanation of this name is given in the *Sāntiparva*, v. 13228 f.: *Nashṭām cha dharaṇīm pūrvam avindām vai guhāgatām | Govinda iti tenāhaṁ devair vāgbhir abhisthutaḥ |* "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as *Govinda*." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the *Ādi-parva*, v. 1216, the word *Govinda* is thus interpreted: *Gāṁ vīndatā bhagavatā Govindenāmitaujasā | varāha-rūpiṇā chāntar vīrobhita-jalāvīlam |* "[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by the divine *Govinda* of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar found the earth [beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215) which seems to shew that, at the period when it was written, the *Hindūs* were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: *Chandra-ṛiddhi-xaya-vāśād uderittormi-samākulam |* "The ocean [tossed with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."

He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Aditya (or unfailing deity) will come for the abolition of cruelty."

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana's enmity to Kṛishṇa, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shows the writer's faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parva that Kṛishṇa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pandus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4565), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Kṛishṇa. On the conclusion of Vidura's speech, Kṛishṇa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

Viduregatam uktaḥ tu Keśavaḥ śatra-pāga-hā | Duryodhanam Dhṛitarāshṭram abhyabhāṣate viryyavan |
eko 'ham iti yad mohād manyase mām Suyodhana | paribhūya sudurbuddhe grahitum mām chikīrṣasi |
ihaiva Pāṇḍavāḥ sarve tathāivāndhaka-krishṇayāḥ | śhādityāścha Rudrāścha Vasavaścha saharabhiḥ |
evam uktrā jahānochchraiḥ Keśavaḥ paravira-hā | tasya saṁamayataḥ Saurer vidyud-rūpā mahātmanaḥ |
angulīṭha-mātrās tridakā munuḥḥ pārakārchisakḥ | aya Brahmā lalāṭa-śho Rudro vaxasi chābharat |
loka-pālā bhujesho āsann Agnir āsyād ajāyata | Ādityāśchaiva Sūdhyaścha Vasavo 'thāśvināḥ api |
Marutaścha sahen-drena Viśve devāś tathāiva cha | babhūvus chaika-rūpāni Yaxa-Gandharva-Raxasām |
prādūrastaṁ tathā dorbhyām Saṅkarṣaṇa-Dhanañjaya | daxiṇo 'thārjjuno dhanvī halī Rāmaścha savyataḥ |
Bhīmo Yudhishṭhiraśchaiva Mādri-putrau cha prishṭhataḥ | Andhakā Vṛishṇayaśchaiva Pradyumna-pramukhāś tataḥ |
agre babhūvuḥ Kṛishṇasya samudyata-mahāyudhāḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śārṅga-lāṅgala-nandakāḥ |
adriṣyāntodyatāny eva sarva-praharaṇāni cha | nānā-bāhushu Kṛishṇasya dīp-yamānāni sarvaśaḥ | ityādi

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāshṭra: 'Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, o fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vṛishnis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.' Having thus spoken,

Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty descendant of Sūra [Krishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Sādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yaxas, Gandharvas, and Rāxasas. Sankarshana and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma with a plough from his left, Yudishthira and Bhīma, the sons of Mādri, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vrishnis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Karna-parva, also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karna promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjunā, or be slain by him. Karna says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishṇa); (v. 1302: *Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādṛṣṇa na vidyate*); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (*Kṛishṇas cha srashṭā jagato ratham tam abhiraxati*¹⁶⁵), if, in like manner, Salya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Śauri (Krishṇa) and is well skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karna thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: *Ayaṁ tu sadṛśaḥ Śaureḥ Salyaḥ samiti-śobhanaḥ | sārathyaṁ yadi me kuryād dhruvas te vijayo bhavet | 1311: Evam abhyadhikāḥ Parthāt bhaviṣhyami gunair aham | Salyo 'py abhyadhikāḥ Kṛishṇād Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hridayaṁ veda Dāsārhaḥ para-vira-hā | tathā Salyo 'pi jānīte*

¹⁶⁵ If the words *srashṭā jagataḥ*, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karna could have regarded Krishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling Salya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.

haya-jñānaṁ mahārathaḥ |) Duryodhana then goes to Salva and asks him to act as charioteer to Karna, saying that he (Salva) was equal to Krishna, that there was no other person who could drive Karna but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: *Sārathyāṁ rathināṁ śreṣṭha prajāyāt karttum arhaṁ | tvayi yantari Rādheyo vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhishūnāṁ hi Karnarṣe grahitā 'nyo na vidyate | rite hi tvāṁ mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samāṁ yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Karnāṁ yathā Brahmā Maheśvaram* |). Salva, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karna, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: *Paśya pāṇaṁ mama bhujau vajra-saṁhananopamau* | . . . 1363: *Dūrāyeyam mahīm kṛtsnāṁ vikīreyaṁ cha parvatān | Śoṣayeyaṁ samudrāṁś cha tejāś svena pārthiva* |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior¹⁶⁶ (v. 1365: *Kasmād yunazi sārathyē nīchasyādhirathe raṇe | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam ihārhasi | na hi pāpīyasaḥ śreyān bhūtvā preshyatvam utsahe* |). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karna as superior to him (v. 1379: *Na Karno 'bhyadhikāś tvattoḥ*), but considered Karna to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Salva) as superior to Krishna, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: *Manye chābhyadhikāṁ Salva guṇaiḥ Karnāṁ Dhanāñjayāt | bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāch cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karno hy abhyadhikāḥ Pārthād astrair eva narar-shabha | bhavān abhyadhikāḥ Kṛṣṇād aśva-jñāne bale tathā | yathā 'śva-hṛidayāṁ veda Vāsudevo mahāmanāḥ | dviguṇāṁ tvāṁ tathā vetsy Madra-rājesvarātmaja* |). Salva is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Krishna, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karna, vv. 1387 ff.: *Faḍ mām bravishi Gāndhāre madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśiṣṭāṁ Devaki-puttrāt prītimāṁ asmy ahaṁ tvayi | eṣa sārathyam ātiṣṭhe Rādheyasya*

¹⁶⁶ He regarded Karna as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (v. 1374).

*yaśasvīnaḥ | yudhyataḥ Pāṇḍavāgryeṇa yathā tvaṁ vīra manyase | samayaś
cha hi me vīra kaśchid Vaikarttanam prati | utsrijeyaṁ yathā-śraddham
ahaṁ vācho 'sya sannidhau | Sañjaya uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te
saha Karna Bhārata | abravīd Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama |*
“I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou
declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be
charioteer to the renowned Karna when he fights with the chief of the
Pandus, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have
entered into a certain agreement with Karna, let me candidly excuse
to him the words I have used. Sanjaya proceeded: “Thy son (*i.e.*
Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karna the resolution of the
king of the Madras (Salya).”

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Salya to act as
charioteer to Karna, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as pro-
ceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd-35th, vv. 1391 ff.,
(which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably
interpolated,) to repeat to Salya an ancient legend, telling how
Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war
between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were
at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka there-
upon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant
them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become inde-
structible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined
to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute
(1399). They then asked that they should occupy three cities, and
from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand
years these three cities should become united, and that they them-
selves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to
overthrow the cities with a single arrow, (1402 ff.: *Vayam purāṇi
trīṇy eva samāsthāya mahim imām | vicharishyāmo loke 'smīn . . .
tato varsha-sahasre tu sameshyāmaḥ parasparam | ekibhāvaṁ gamishy-
anti purāṇy etāni chānagha | samāgatāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavaṁs
tadā | ekeshuṇā deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhaviṣyati*). Brahmā granted
this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three cities, one of gold, in
heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on
earth¹⁶⁷ (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above-named severally

¹⁶⁷ See above, p. 168.

occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Hari, the son of Tārakāṣa, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond in their city, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the cities of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the demons (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the cities could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the *yoga* and the *sāṅkhya* of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.: *Tapo-niyamam āsthāya grīṇanto brahma śāśvatam* | . . . *tushṭuvur vāgbhir ugrābhīr bhayenā abhaya-daṁ nripa* | *sarvātmānam mahātmānām yenāptaṁ sarvam ātmanā* | *tapo-viśeshair vividhair yogaṁ yo veda chātmanaḥ* | *yaḥ sāṅkhyam ātmano vetti yasya chātmā vaśe sadā* |). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as “the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world” (1442: *sarva-bhūtamayaṁ drishṭvā tam ajaṁ jagataḥ patim* |). Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he could not destroy them himself, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not contain half of his strength (*vibhartuṁ tava tejo*

'*rdāham na śasyāmaḥ*), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or "the great god," (*arddham ādāya sarveśhām tejasā 'bhy-adhiko 'bhavat | sa tu devo balenāsīt sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādeva iti khyātaḥ tataḥ prabhṛiti Saṅkaraḥ |*). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469 : *mūrtīḥ sarvāḥ samādhyā trailokyasya tatas tataḥ | ratham te kalpayishyāmaḥ |*). The composition of the car, formed by Visvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471-1492). Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashatkāra, the gāyatrī, etc, formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow, for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power."¹⁶⁸ Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce intolerable fury, and sprung from the rage of Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthānu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, moveable and immoveable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold." (*Ishuś chāpy abhavad Vishṇur Jvalanaḥ Soma eva cha | Agni-Somaṁ jagat kṛitanaṁ Vaishṇavaṁ chochyate jagat | Vishṇuś chātmā bhagavato Bhavasyāmita-tejasah | tasmād dhanur jyā-saṁsparsaṁ na vishehur Harasya te | tasmin śare tigma-manyum mumochāsahyam Īśvaraḥ | Bhṛigu-Angiro-manyu-bhavaṁ krodhūgnim ati-dussaham | sa nīla-lohito*

¹⁶⁸ Can these words be a Vaishnava addition to the passage?

*dhūmraḥ kṛittivāsā bhayaṅkaraḥ | . . . 1507: Nityaṁ trātā cha
hantā cha dharmādharmaśritān narān | pramāthibhir bhīma-balair bhīma-
rūpair manojavaiḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Sthānūś tair evātma-guṇair vṛitaiḥ |
tasyāṅgāni samāśritya sthitaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat | jaṅgamājaṅgamaḥ
rājan śuśubho 'dhuta-darśanam |*)

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Vishṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,¹⁶⁹ and arrives at the triple city of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Vishṇu in the arrow, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Vishṇu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the triple city (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting Salya to follow Brahmā's example, and act as charioteer to Karna. Salya, he adds, is superior to Krishṇa, Karna, and Arjuna, and as Karna resembled Mahādeva in fighting, so Salya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Salya another story about Paraśurāma performing austerity to propitiate Mahādeva and obtain

¹⁶⁹ In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his strength (*ṛishayas tatra deveṣāṁ stuvanto bahubhiḥ stavaiḥ | tejaś chāśmai varāṇ-
yanto rājann āsan punaḥ punaḥ |*). The same power of imparting strength to the gods by their praises is frequently asserted of the bards in the Rig-veda.

celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to obtain them. Paraśurāma renews his penances and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806) and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Paraśurāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karṇa (1613), which proves that Karṇa is free from sin; and Karṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Xātriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger (1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Salya to perform the same office to Karṇa. Salya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Kṛishṇa also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Salya adds, if Karṇa should slay Arjuna, Kṛishṇa would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no one would be able to stand before him when he was incensed, (*Yadi hanyāch cha Kaunteyaṁ Sūta-putraḥ kathañchana | dṛishṭvā Pārthaṁ hi nihataṁ svayaṁ yotsyati Keśavaḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-pāñir dhazyate tava vāhinim | na chāpi tasya kruddhasya Vārshneyasya mahātmanaḥ | sthāsyate pratyānikeshu kaśchid atra nripas tava*). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karṇa, and of Salya himself: (1643) *Tvam śalya-bhūtaḥ śatrūnām avishahyaḥ parākrame | tatas tvam uchyase rājan Salya ity ari-sūdāna | tava bāhu-balam prāpya na śekuḥ sarva-Sāttvataḥ | tava bāhu-balād rājan kintu Kṛishṇo balādhikah | yathā hi Kṛishṇena balaṁ dhāryaṁ vai Phālgune hate | tathā Karṇa-tyagibhāve tvayā dhāryam mahad balaṁ | kimarthaṁ samare sainyaṁ Vāsudevo nyavārayet* (sic) | *kimarthaṁ cha bhavān sainyaṁ na hanishyati Mārisha* | "Thou art a spear (*śalya*) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, o king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Salya.¹⁷⁰ Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sāttvatas could

¹⁷⁰ In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words; *Salya-bhūtas tu śatrūnām yasmāt tvam yudhi mānada | tasmāt Sālyo hi te nāma kathyate*

not [resist]. But [it is said that ?] Krishna is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Krishna, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karna were slain. Why should Krishna withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?" Salya then answers (1648 ff.) in the same words¹⁷¹ which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: "I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devaki. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karna," etc. This repetition of the same speech of Salya at the close of the episode regarding Mahadeva's conquest of the Asuras with Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma's acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As Salya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karna's charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahadeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of Salya's willingness to comply with the request of Karna and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Krishna and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyana and Nara, who always lived and acted together. A similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connection will appear from the following passages,¹⁷² in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parva (vv. 461 ff.) that Krishna, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of soothing Krishna, recounts (vv. 471 ff.)

prithivī-tale | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

¹⁷¹ The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words *agre saīnyasya mīnada*, "before the army, conferrer of honour," are substituted for *madhye saīnyasya Kaurava*, "in the midst of the army, o Kaurava."

¹⁷² See also the extract from the Droṇa-parva, translated above, p. 155.

his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),¹⁷³ and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.):

*Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni saṅxipya Madhusūdana | ātmanaivātmasāt
kṛtvā jagad āsīḥ parantapa | yugātau tava Vārshṇeya nābhi-padmad
ajāyata | Brahmā charāchara-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalāṁ jagat | taṁ han-
tum udyatau ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṭabhaiḥ | tayoṛ vyatikramaṁ
dṛishṭvā kruddhasya bhavato Hareḥ | lalāṭāj jātavān Sambhuḥ śāla-
pāṇis trilochanaḥ | itthaṁ tāv api deveṣau tach-chharīra-samudbhavau |
tan-niyoga-karāv etāv iti me Nārado 'bravīt | tathā Nārāyaṇa purā
kratubhīr bhūri-daxīnāiḥ | ishṭavāms tvam mahāsatraṁ Kṛishṇa Chait-
rarathe vanḥ | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kṛitāni vā | yāni
karmāṇi deva tvam bāla eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitavān Puṇḍarikāxa Baladeva-
sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasah saha | Vaiśam-
pāyana uvācha | evam ukṭvā mahātmānam ātmā Kṛishṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ |
tūshṇīm āsīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvācha Janārddanaḥ | mamaiva tvam
tavaivāhaṁ ye madhyās tavaiva te | yas tvāṁ deveshṭi sa mām deveshṭi yas
tvām anu sa mām anu | Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyaṇo hy
aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishiḥ | ananyah
Pārtha mattas tvam tvattas chāhaṁ tathaiva cha | nāvayor antaram sak-
yam veditum Bharatarshabha |*

“At the end of the mundane period (*yuga*), thou, o Madhusūdana, vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the *yuga*, o Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things moveable and immoveable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from his (Kṛishṇa's) body, and they execute his commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, o Kṛishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to

¹⁷³ See above, p. 115 ff.

[illegible]

1. The first of these is the fact that the United States has a long and distinguished record of leadership in the field of human rights. This record is reflected in the many treaties and conventions to which the United States has adhered, and in the many resolutions and declarations adopted by the United Nations and other international organizations. The United States has also been a leading force in the development of international law and practice in the field of human rights.

Arjuna then is visited by the Mahadeva who, with the view of securing
Arjuna from the various temptations of Indra, in 1312 f., was
transformed into the form of the Mahadeva - see Mahadeva - 1312 f.
Arjuna then is variously tempted. The result, not knowing the
true nature of the Mahadeva - 1343 f., who leaves
him, and then is seen in appearance as Arjuna, cherishes
his true design. Arjuna then takes his bow and arrows, and
serving the form of the Krishna Mahadeva mountain-like, approaches
the Mahadeva in the form of the Mahadeva, in the form of a
bear, and then in the form of a Mahadeva, who prepares to shoot him
with his bow. The Mahadeva orders Arjuna to allow him to shoot the
Mahadeva as he is not then as strong as he was, but Arjuna will not
shoot him, but he will fight him and kill the bear. Arjuna
then, in the form of the Krishna Mahadeva, who is not yet in an unpre-
pared state, says to the Mahadeva, *na prapadishamhi yu-va-tya* (I do not
fear you, O Mahadeva, I will not kill you). The Mahadeva replies that he has
killed him, and had killed the Mahadeva, and would kill Arjuna also.
Mahadeva, in the form of the Krishna Mahadeva, then fight together
in 1342 f., with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees,
stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and
is exhausted in 1343 f. He, however, revives, and worships his
enemy, falling at his feet. Mahadeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's

The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Krishna, may certainly be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are so freely professed in the western world, viz., those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and the two Demetrii, and Pythias.

pro prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): *Tato devam Mahādevam Girīśam śulapāṇinam | dadarśa Phālgunas tatra saha devyā mahādyutim | sa jānubhyām mahīm gatvā śirasā pranīpatya cha | prasādayāmāsa Haram Pārthaḥ para-purañjayaḥ | Arjuna uvācha | “Kapardīn sarva-deveśa Bhaga-netra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nīla-grīva jaṭā-dhara | kīraṇānāṇcha paramaṁ jāne tvām Tryambakaṁ vibhum | devānāṇcha gatīm deva tvat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | ajeyas team tribhir lokaiḥ sa-devā-sura-mānushaiḥ | Sīvāya Viṣṇu-rūpāya Viṣṇave Sīva-rūpiṇe | Daxa-yajña-vināśāya Hari-Rudrāya vai namaḥ | lalāṭākāya Sarvāya mīlhushe śūla-pāṇaye | pināka-gopatre sūryāya mārjātīyāya vedhase | prasādaye tvām bhagavan sarva-bhūta-maheśvara | gaṇeśam jagataḥ śambhuṁ lokakāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-puruṣātītam paraṁ sūxmātaram Haram |*

“Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Girīśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Prithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: ‘God with the braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga’s eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the pervading, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras and men. Adoration be to Siva in the form of Viṣṇu, to Viṣṇu in the form of Sīva, to the destroyer of Daxa’s sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the cat, the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (i.e., ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhāna and Puruṣa (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.’”

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him :

1637 ff.—*Devadeva uvācha | Naraś team pūrva-dehe vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyavān | Badaryām taptavān ugraṁ tapo varṣāyutān bahūn | trayā vā paramaṁ tejo Viṣṇau vā puruṣottame | yuvābhyām puruṣāgryābhyām tejasā dhāryate jagat | Sukrābhisheko sumahad dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam | pragrihya dānavāḥ śāstās trayā Kṛṣṇena cha prabho*

ityādī | "Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishṇu the supreme Puruṣa. By you twain, the chief of men (or Puruṣas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Sakra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastised by thee and Kṛishṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds."

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāśupata weapon (v. 1643) which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parva (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīṣma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

Namaskṛityopajagmus te loka-vṛiddham Pitāmaham | parivāryya cha viśveṣam paryāsata divaukasah | teshām manaś cha tejaśchāpy ādadānō ivaujasā | pūrva-devau vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv rishī | Vṛihaspati tu paprachha Brahmāgam kām imāv iti | bhavantaṁ nopatishthete tau na śaṁsa Pitāmahā | Brahmā uvācha | yāv etau prithivīm dyāuścha bhūsa-yantau tapasvinau | jealantau rochamanau cha vyāpyāsītau (nau ?) mahā-balau | Nara-Nārāyaṇāv etau lokāl lokāṁ samāsthītau | ūrjītau aśva tapasā mahāsattva-parākramau | etau hi karmaṇā lokāṁ nandayāmāsat dhruvam | deivā-bhūtau mahā-prajñau viddhi brahman parantapau | asurānām vināśāya deva-gandharva-pūjītau | Vaiśampāyana uvācha | jagāma Sakras tach chhṛutvā yatra tau tepatas tapaḥ | sārddham deva-gaṇaiḥ sarvair Vṛihaspati-purogamaiḥ | tadā devāsuro yuddhe bhōye jāte divaukasām | ayāchata mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇau varam | tāv abrūtām vṛiṇīshveti tadā Bharata-sattama | athaitāv abravīch chhakraḥ sahyam naḥ kriyatām iti | tatas tau Sakram abrūtām karishyāvo yaḥ ichhasi | tābhyāñcha sahitaḥ Sakro vijigye daitya-dānavān | Nara Indrasya saṅgrāme hatvā śatrūn parantapaḥ | Paulomān Kālakañjāṁścha sahasrāṇi śatāni cha | eṣha bhṛānte rathe tiṣṭhan bhallenāpāharach chhiraḥ | Jambhāsya grasamānasya tadā hy Arjunam āhave | eṣha pāre samudrasya Hīranyapuram ārujat | jītvā shasṭīm sahasrāṇi Nivātakavachān rapaḥ | eṣha devān sahendrena jītvā para-purañjayaḥ | atarpayad mahābāhur Arjuno Jātavedasam | Nārāyaṇas tathāivātra bhūyaśo 'nyān jaghāna ha |

*evam etau mahā-vīryau tau paśyata samāgatau | Vāsudevārjunau vīrau
samavetau mahārathau | Nara-Nārāyaṇau devau pūrva-devāve iti śrutiḥ |
ajeyau mānuṣhe loke sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | esha Nārāyaṇaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ
Phālgunaś cha Naraḥ smṛitaḥ | Nārāyaṇo Naraś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ
dvidhā-kṛitam | etau hi karmaṇā lokān aśnuvāte 'xayān dhruvān | tatra
tatraiva jāyete yuddha-kāle punaḥ punaḥ | tasmāt karmaiva karttavyam iti
hovācha Nāradaḥ | etad hi sarvam āchashṭa Vṛishṇi-chakrasya veda-vit |
śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-hastam yadā drakṣyasi Keśavam | paryādaḍānaṁ
chāstrāṇi bhīma-dhanvānam Arjunam | sanātanaṁ mahātmānaṁ kṛishṇāve
eka-rathe sthitaṁ | Duryodhana tadā tāta smṛtāsi vachanam mama |*

“Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and powerful gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyana, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vrihaspati enquired of Brahmā, ‘Tell us, Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.’ Brahmā said: ‘These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyana, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, o Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.’ Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vrihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyana a boon. They replied, ‘Choose.’ Then Indra said, ‘Let us be assisted.’ They answered Indra, ‘We will do what thou desirest.’ And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,¹⁷⁵ who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiranyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty

¹⁷⁵ The name of a demon. It will occur again below.

thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyana slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyana, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyana is Krishna, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyana and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two with their operation pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born in different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishnis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Krishna) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words.” (Compare the same warning given in p. 182.)

It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parva (vv. 3459-3488) that, in order to persuade the Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by shewing the great power of Arjuna and Krishna, Paraśurama told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyana. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodbhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz., Nara and Nārāyana, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parva, vv. 419 ff. :

*Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛishṇo 'py ātmā Kīrītinaḥ | Arjune vijayo nityaṁ Kṛishṇo kīrtiścha śāśvati | sarvesho api cha lokeshu Bibhatsur aparājitaḥ | prādhānyenaiva bhūyishṭhaṁ ameyāḥ Keśave guṇāḥ | mohād Duryodhana Kṛishṇaṁ yo na vettiha Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena mṛityu-pāśa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Kṛishṇaṁ Dāsārhaṁ Arjunaṁ chaiva Pāṇḍavam | pūrva-devau mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekāt-mānau dvīdhā-bhūtau dṛiśyete mānushair bhuvi | manasā 'pi hi durdharshau senām etām yaśasvinau | nāśayetām ihechhantau mānushatvāch cha ne-
chhataḥ |*

"Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛishṇa), and Kṛishṇa too is the soul of Kīrītīn (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Kṛishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Kṛishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Kṛishṇa the Dāsārha, and Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyana, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it."

Again, in the Bhīshma-parva, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas who, he says, are invincible in consequence of Kṛishṇa's protection. To illustrate Kṛishṇa's divine greatness Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the support of the world (2964 f.). Viṣṇu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.) :

Yat tat param bhaviṣyaṅcha bhavitā yachha yat param | bhūtātma yaḥ prabhuḥ chaiva Brahma yaḥ cha param padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁ-rādaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | "mānushaṁ lokam ātiṣṭha Vāsudeva iti śrutaḥ | asurāṇām

*bañdārādhya anubhāṁsava mahāśale | saṅgrāme nihatā ye te daitya-dānava-
 rāṇaḥ | te ime śrīkṛṣṇa anubhūta ghaṛa-rūpā mahābalāḥ | teṣāṃ ba-
 dhārtham bhagavān Naraḥ sakhā bali | mānuṣīm yonim āsthāya chariṣ-
 yaḥ mahā-tale" | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tau tu purāṇāo rishī-sattamaḥ |
 śṛṇva hi raṇe yaḥ tau amatair amaraḥ api | sahītau mānuṣhē loka-
 anubhūtv anila-dyaḥ | māñbhūḥ te tau na jñanti Nara-Nārāyaṇau
 riṣiḥ | yuyāṅam ātmaḥ Brahmā sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo
 'asuro coḥ sarva-loka-mahākaraḥ | tatthā manushyo 'yam iti kadāchit
 sara-sattmaḥ | māyājño mahāciryyaḥ śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat
 paramakam guḥyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma
 etat paramakam yajñāḥ | etat azaram aśyaktam etat chhāśvatam eva cha |
 etat Paruṣa-sūjño vai giyate jñāyate na cha | etat paramakam teja etat
 paramakam sukham | etat paramakam satyaṁ kīrtitaṁ Vīśvakarmaṇā |
 tamat sarasurāḥ sarvāḥ sēndraiḥ chāmīta-vīkramaḥ | nāvajñeyo Vāsu-
 devo mānuṣhā 'yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānuṣha-mātro 'yam iti brūyāt
 sa manda-dhīḥ | Hṛishīkeśam avajānāt tam āhuḥ puruṣādhamam | tam
 yogīnam mahātmānam pravīṣṭam mānuṣhīm tanum | yo 'camanyē
 Vāsudevaṁ tam āhuḥ tāmaseṁ jñāḥ | devaṁ charācharātmānaṁ śrīrat-
 nāḥ sārachasam | padma-nābhaṁ na jñāti tam āhuḥ tāmaseṁ
 jñāḥ | kīṛṭa-kauṣṭubha-dharam nītrūgām abhayaṅkaram | avajānaṁ
 mahātmānaḥ ghaṛe tamasi majjati | . . . 3002: Vārīto 'si purā tāta muni-
 bhīr bhāvitātmaḥ | mā gachha saṁyugam tena Vāsudevena dhaneśa |
 Pāṇḍavaḥ sūrdham iti yat tat tram mōhād na budhyase | manyo trāṁ
 Rāṣaṣāṁ krūraṁ tatthā chāsi tamo-vṛitaḥ | tasmād dvishasi Govindam
 Pāṇḍavaṁcha Dhananjāyam | Nara-Nārāyaṇau devau ko 'nyo dvishyād
 hi mānavaḥ |*

"That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall be, and who
 [is] supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is
 Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have
 been conversing, o eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated
 by me [in these words] to shew favour to the world: 'Do thou who art
 known as Vāsudeva appear in the world of men: be born on earth for
 the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rāṣasas who
 have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born
 among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou,
 the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a
 human womb, wilt act upon earth.' Those ancient and most excellent

of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be revered by you. Never, o most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest sphere, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be condemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Hrishikeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (*kaustubha*), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness.”¹⁷⁶

Bhīṣma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3002): “Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: ‘Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.’ Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rāxasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Krishna) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?”

The next passage is from the Sāntiparva, where Krishna, after describing many of his other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):

Purā 'ham ātmajaḥ Pārtha prathitaḥ kāraṇāntare | Dharmasya Kuru-śārdūla tato 'haṁ Dharmajaḥ smṛitaḥ | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrvaṁ tapas

¹⁷⁶ This passage seems to have a polemical object, and to be aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Krishna.

tepatur avyayam | dharma-yānam samārādhanu parvate Gandhamādan |
 tat-kāla-samaye chaiva Daza-yajño bubhūra ha | na chaivikulapayal
 bhāgañ Dazo Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhichi-vachanād Daza-yajñas
 apāharat | sasarija sūlam kopena prajcalantam muhur muhur | taci
 chhūlam bhasmasāt kṛitvā Daza-yajñam sa-vistaram | ācayoḥ sahasā
 "gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad Nārā-
 yanorasi | tatas tat-tejasā "vishṭāḥ keśā Nārāyanasya ha | babhūcur muṇja-
 varṇās tu tato 'ham muṇja-keśavān | tachcha sūlam vinirāddhūtam hū
 kāreṇa mahātmanā | jagāma Saṅkara-karam Nārāyana-samūhahan |
 atha Rudra upādīhāt tāt rishī tapasā 'nritau | tata enaṁ samudbhūtam
 kaṇṭhe jagrāha pāṇinā | Nārāyanāḥ sa viśvātmā tenāya śiti-kaṇṭhatā |
 atha Rudra-vighātārtham iśhikāṁ Nara uddharat | mantraiś cha mū-
 yuyojaśu so 'bhavat paraśur mahān | xiptas cha sahasā tena khaṇḍanam
 prāptavāms tadā | tato 'haṁ ['yam ?] Khaṇḍaparaśuḥ smṛitāḥ paraiś-
 khaṇḍanāt | tayoḥ saṁlagnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyana-ātmanor |
 udeignāḥ sahasā kṛitsnāḥ sarva-lokāś tadā 'bhavan | nāgrīḥnāt Pārakoḥ
 śubhram makhesu zuhutaṁ haviḥ | vedā na pratibhānti im-
 rishinām bhāvitātmanām | devān rajas tamaś chaiva samāvicīṣitau
 tadā | vasudhā sañchakampe cha nabhas cha vipaphāla ha | nishprabdhāpi
 cha tejāmsi Brahmā chaivāsana-chyutāḥ | agāḥ chhoshāṁ samudras cha
 Himavāms cha cyaśiryyata | tasminn eva samutpanne nimitte Pāṇḍu-
 nandana | Brahmā vṛito deva-gaṇair rishibhiś cha mahātmanbhiḥ | ājagām-
 āśubham deśam yatra yuddham avarttata | so 'ñjali-pragraho bhūtvā cha-
 tur-vaktro nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vachanam Rudraṁ "lokānām astu vai
 śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveśa jagato hita-kāmyayā | yad axaram athā-
 vyaktam īśam lokasya bhāvanam | kūṭastham kartṛi-nirdvandvam akar-
 tteti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhāva-gatasyaśya ekā mūrttir iyaṁ śubhā |
 Naro Nārāyanas chaiva jātou Dharma-kulodvahan | tapasā mahatā yuk-
 tau deva-śreshṭhau mahā-vratau | aham prasāda-jas tasya kutaśchit kōra-
 ṇāntare | tvam chaiva krodha-jas tāta pūrva-sarge sanātanaḥ | mayā cha
 sārddham varadam vibudhaiś cha maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāśu lokānām
 śāntir bhavatu mā chiram" | Brahmanā tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodh-
 āgnim utsrijan | prasādayāmāsa tato devāṁ Nārāyanam prabhum |
 śaranyam cha jagāmādyam varenyam varadam prabhum | tato 'tha varado
 devo jita-krodho jitendriyah | prītimān abhavat tatra Rudreṇa saha sa-
 gataḥ | rishibhir Brahmanā chaiva vibudhaiś cha supājitaḥ | uvācha
 devam Īśānam īśaḥ sa jagato Hariḥ | "yas tvām vetti sa mām vetti yas

*tvām anu sa mām anu | nāvayor antaram kiñchid mā te bhūd buddhir
anyathā | adya-prabhṛiti śrīvatsaḥ śālāṅko me bhavato ayam | mama
pāny-anḱilās chāpi śrīkaṇṭhas tvam bhaviṣhyasi” | evaṁ laxaṇam utpā-
dya paraspara-kṛitām tadā | sakhyam chaivātulaṁ kṛtvā Rudrena
sahitāv ṛishi | tapas tepatur avyagrau visriṇya tridivaukaṣaḥ | esha te
kathitaḥ Pārtha Nārāyaṇa-jayo mṛidhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruk-
tāni cha Bhārata | ṛishibhiḥ kathitāniha yāni saṅkīrtitāni te | evam
bahu-vīdhaiḥ rūpaiś charāmīha vasundharām | Brahma-lokañcha Kaunteya
golokañcha sanātanam | mayā tvam vaxito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān
jayam | yas tu te so ’grato yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthito | taṁ viddhi
Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devam kaparddinam | kālāḥ sa eva kathitaḥ
krodhajeti mayā tava | nihatās tena vai pūrvam hatavān asi yān ripūn |
aprameya-prabhāvaṁ taṁ deva-devam Umā-patim | namasva devam pra-
yato viśveśam Haram azayam | ityādi |*

“Formerly, son of Prithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyaṇa, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjuncture of time, the sacrifice of Daxa took place. Daxa did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhīchi, swept away the sacrifice of Daxa, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daxa with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyaṇa. The hair of Nārāyaṇa penetrated by its power, became of the colour of grass (*muñja*): from which I am called Muñjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with an imprecation went back into the hand of Sankara, when struck by Nārāyaṇa. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Siva’s) name of Sītikantha. Nara next drew out a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (*paraśu*) became shattered into fragments (*khaṇḍana*), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparaśu.” Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict; when Krishna proceeds: “When Rudra and

Nārāyana had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahma fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries (?), with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, the indivisible, and not the doer,—[this I say is one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyana, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,¹⁷⁷ an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyana, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Íśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit.* follows) thee loves me.¹⁷⁸ There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrīkaṇṭha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Prithā, which I

¹⁷⁷ See verses 13140 and 13145 of the Śantiparva, quoted below.

¹⁷⁸ The same expression has already occurred above, p. 194.

have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyana in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kuntī, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra the god of gods, with braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

Again, in the Sāntiparva, Vaiśampayana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Sveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Naru and Nārāyana (v. 13337):

Nipapāta cha khāt tārṇaṁ viśālāṁ Vadarīm anu | tataḥ sa dadṛśe devau purāṇāv ṛishi-sattamau | tapaś charantaṁ sumahad ātma-niṣṭhau mahā-vratau | tejasā 'bhyadhikau sūryāt sarva-loka-virochanāt | śrīvatsa-laxanau pūjyau jaṭā-maṇḍala-dhārīṇau | jāla-pāda-bhujau tau tu pādayos chakra-laxanau | vyūḍhoraskau dīrgha-bhujau tathā mushka-chatushkinau | śhaṣṭi-dantāv aṣṭa-daṁśhṛau meghaugha-sadṛśa-svanau | svāsyaṁ prithu-lalāṭau cha subhṛū su-hanu-nāsikau | ālapatreṇa sadṛśe śirasī devayos tayoh | evaṁ-laxana-sampannau mahā-purusha-saṁjñitau | tau dṛiṣṭvā Nārado hṛiṣṭas tābhyāṁ cha pratipūjitaḥ | svāgatenābhībhāshyātha pṛiṣṭas chānāmayaṁ tathā | babhūvāntar-gata-matir nirixya puruṣhoṭtamau |

"He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became

absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Sveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Sveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (*ācayoh prakṛitā parā*). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: *Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yuvām paśyan sanātanaū | yair laxaṇair upetā sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛik | tair laxaṇair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharaū yuvām | dṛiṣṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pūrātataḥ* |). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his *Indian Antiquities*, i. 621 f., and note, p. 622¹⁷⁹) Kṛishṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To shew how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Pandus, aided as the latter were by Kṛishṇa, Dhṛitarashtra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

¹⁷⁹ His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text), he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherd's wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the *gopas* of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parva, v. 130 ff.; and Droṇa-parva, vv. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kambojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karna, etc. (*Nārāyaṇas cha gopātāḥ Kambojanāṇs cha ye gaṇāḥ | Karṇena vijitāḥ* |).

Drona-parva, 382.—*Dhritarāshtra uvācha | śṛiṇu divyāni karmāṇi
 Vāsudevasya Sañjaya | kṛitavān yāni Govindo yathā nānyaḥ pumān
 kvachit | samvardhatā gopa-kule bālenaiva mahātmanā | vikhyāpitam
 balam bāhvos trishu lokeshu Sañjaya | Uchchhaiḥśravas-tulya-balaṁ vāyu-
 rega-samaṁ jave | jaghāna Haya-rājānaṁ Yamunā-vana-vāsinam | Dāna-
 vaṁ ghora-karmāṇaṁ gavām mṛityum ivotthitam | vṛisha-rūpa-dharam
 bālye bhujābhyāṁ nijaghāna ha | Pralambhaṁ Narakaṁ Jambham Piṭhaṁ
 vā 'pi mahāsuraṁ | Muraṁ chāmara-saṅkāśam abadhīt pushkareṣaṇaḥ |
 tathā Kaṁso mahātejā Jarāsandhena pālitaḥ | vikrameṇaiva Kṛishṇena
 saganāḥ pātito raṇe | Sunāmā raṇa-vikrāntaḥ samagrāxauhiṇī-patiḥ |
 Bhoja-rājasya madhya-stho bhrātā Kaṁsasya vīryavān | Baladeva-devī-
 yena Kṛishṇenāmītra-ghātinā | tarasevī samare dagdhaḥ sa-saīnyaḥ Sūra-
 sena-rāt | Duvāsā nāma viprarshis tathā parama-kopanaḥ | āradhitaḥ
 sadāreṇa sa chasmai pradadau varān | tathā Gāndhāra-rājasya sūtāṁ
 vīraḥ svayāṁvare | nirjitya prithivī-pālān āvahaṭ pushkareṣaṇaḥ |
 amṛishyamāṇā rājāno yasya jātyā hayā iva | rathe vaivāhike yuktāḥ
 pratodena kṛita-vraṇāḥ | Jarāsandham mahābāhum upāyena Janār-
 danaḥ | pareṇa ghātayāmāsa samagrāxauhiṇī-patim | Chedi-rajāṇ-
 cha vikrāntaṁ rāja-senā-patim balī | arghe vivadamānaṁcha jaghāna
 paśu-vat tadā | Saubhaṁ daitya-puraṁ svasthaṁ Sālva-guptaṁ dur-
 sadam | samudra-kuzau vikramya pātayāmāsa Mādhavaḥ |
 v. 400 : Praviśya makarāvāsāṁ yādobhir abhisamēritam | jigāya Varu-
 ṇaṁ saṅkhye salilāntargatam purā | yudhi Pañchajanyaṁ hatva pātāla-
 tala-vāsinam | pāñchajanyaṁ Hṛishikeśo divyāṁ saṅkham avāptavān |
 Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāśanam | āgneyam astraṁ dur-
 dharshaṁ chakraṁ lebbe mahābalaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya trāsayingtvā
 'marāvatim | Mahendra-bhavanād vīraḥ pārijātam upānayāt | tachecha
 marshitavān Sakro jānaṁs tasya parākramam | rājñāṁ chāpy ajitaṁ
 kañchit Kṛishṇeneha na śūsruma | yachecha tad mahad āścharyaṁ sabhāyām
 mama Sañjaya | kṛitavān Puṇḍarikākṣaḥ kas tad-anya iharhati | labdha-
 bhaktyā prasanno 'ham adrāxaṁ Kṛishṇam īśvaram | tad me suviditaṁ
 sarvam pratyaxam iva chāgamam | nāntaṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhya
 yuktasya vā punaḥ | karmaṇā śakyate gantum Hṛishikeśasya Sañjaya |
 tathā Gadaś cha Sambaścha Pradyumno 'tha Vidūrathaḥ |
 410 : Eto 'nye balavantaś cha Vṛishṇī-vīraḥ prahāriṇaḥ | kathañchit
 Pāṇḍavāṇikaṁ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | āhūtā Vṛishṇī-vīreṇa Keśavena
 mahātmanā | tataḥ saṁśayitaṁ sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nāgāyuta-*

kañcī rācāḥ Kāṣṭhān-kūṭharapamāḥ | vana-māli hali Rāmas tatva yatre
 Jambūdvānāḥ | yam āhuḥ acro-pālarāṇ Vāṇdevatāṃ deijātayaḥ | api vā hy
 aha Pāṇḍurāṇaṃ yuteyade 'rthāya Sañjaya | as yadā tāta sannahyet Pāṇḍu-
 vārthāya Sañjaya | na tadā pratiscūyuddhā bhavātā tasya kaśchana |
 yadā sma Kuravāḥ sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍavān | Vāraṇheyo 'rthāya
 tebhāṃ vai grāhāyāt śāstram uttamaṃ | tataḥ sarvān nara-vyāghro loka
 nara-patin rapa | Kauravāṇi cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntyaḥ dadyāt sa medānta |
 yasya yamā Hṛṣīkēśo yuddhā yasya Dhanañjayaḥ | rathasya tasya laḥ
 saḥkṣya pratyaśiḥ bhavad rathāḥ | na kenochid upāyena Kurūpāṇāṃ drī-
 yate jayaḥ | tasmād me sarvam ācharva yathā yuddham avarttata |¹⁸⁰

"Dhṛitarāshṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Kṛishṇa, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Uccaiḥśravas (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pralambha, Naraka, Jambha and Piṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarāsandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Kṛishṇa, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the middle brother of Kansa, king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Surasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Kṛishṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhman rishi called Durvāsa, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Kṛishṇa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons.¹⁸¹ So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gandhāras at the *swayamvara*:¹⁸² and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

¹⁸⁰ Towards the close of Dhṛitarāshṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs:—v. 429: *Pakṣānām hi badhe Sūta vajrāyante triṇāny api* | "When men are ripe for slaughter, straws smite like thunderbolts."

¹⁸¹ See the Anuśāsana-parva, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 165.

¹⁸² Lassen, Ind., Art. i, 622, note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gandhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46, and the Second Part of this work, p. 365 f.

yoked like natural horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by an excellent device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.¹⁵³ This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 179), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Krishṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Śālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc. etc., conquered by Krishṇa.] v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajana dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pāṇchajanya. Having, along with Pārtha, (the son of Prithā, Arjuna) propitiated Agni in Khāṇḍava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.¹⁵⁴ Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvati (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.¹⁵⁵ And to this Śakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Krishṇa. Then who but Pundarikāxa could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Krishṇa, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the end of Hṛishīkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sāmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vrishni tribe, summoned by the great Vrishni hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pandavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero [Bala]rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmins call the universal father, will fight for the Pandavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then

¹⁵³ See the story as told in the Sabhā-parva, vv. 848 ff.

¹⁵⁴ Compare note 150, p. 159; and see Ādiparva, v. 8196, where the story is told.

¹⁵⁵ See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 585 ff.

stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pandavas, Vārshneya (Krishṇa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and lion-like man (*lit.* man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kunti. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛishikesa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 199, *Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā*, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

Another account of Krishṇa's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parva. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pāndus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Krishṇa (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Krishṇa (vv. 1875 ff.):

Pūrvāhne mām kṛita-japyaṁ kadāchid viprah provāchodakānte manojñam | karttavyaṁ te dushkaraṁ karma Pārtha yodhavyaṁ te śatrubhiḥ Saavyasāchin | Indro vā te harimān vajra-hastaḥ purastād yātu samare 'ris vinighnan | Sugrīva-yuktena rathena vā te paśchāt Kṛishṇo raxatu Vāmadevaḥ | vacre chāhaṁ vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsudevaḥ sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇo manye chaitad vihitam daivatair me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sāgaram uttīrshed mahodadhiṁ salilasyā-prameyam | tejasvināṁ Kṛishṇam atyanta-śūraṁ yuddhena yo Vāsudevaḥ jigīshet | giriṁ sa ichhet tu talena bhettuṁ śilochayaṁ śvetam atipramāṇam | tasyaiva pāṇiḥ sa-nakho viśīryed na chāpi kiñchit sa gires tu kuryāt | agniṁ samiddhaṁ samayed bhujābhyāṁ chandraṇcha sūryaṇcha nivārayeta | hared devānāṁ amṛitam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaḥ jigīshet | yo Rukmiṇīm eka-rathena Bhojān utsādyā rājñah samare prasahya | uvāha bhāryāṁ yaśasā jealantiṁ yasyāṁ jajñe Raukmiṇeyo mahātmā | ayaṁ Gāndhārīs tarasā sampramathya jīvā putrān Nagnajitah samagrān | baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudarśanaṁ vai decatānāṁ lalāmaṁ | ayaṁ kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā Kalingān Dantakūre mamarda | anena dagdhā vareha-pūgān anāthā Vārāṇasī nagarī sambabhūva | ayaṁ sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyaṁ tam Ekakaryaṁ

nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhihatya Jambhah śete sa
 Kṛishṇena hataḥ parāsuḥ | tathograsenasya sutaṁ suduṣṭam Vṛishṇy-
 Andhakānām madhya-gataṁ sabhā-stham | apātayaḍ Baladeva-dvītyo
 hatvā dadau chograsenāya rājyam | ayaṁ Saubhaṁ yodhayāmāsa svastham
 vibhīṣhaṇam māyayā Sūlva-rājam | Saubha-dvāri pratyagrihṇāt śatagh-
 nīm dorbhyām ka enaṁ visaheta martyaḥ | Prāgyjyotishaṁ nāma babhūva
 durgam puram ghoram Asurānām asahyam | mahābalo Narakas tatra
 Bhaumo jahārādityā maṇi-kuṇḍale śubhe | na taṁ devāḥ saha Śakreṇa
 śekuḥ samāgatā yudhi mṛityor abhitāḥ | dṛishṭvā cha taṁ vikramaṁ
 Keśavasya balaṁ tathavāstram avāraṇīyam | jānanto 'sya prakṛitiṁ
 Keśavasya nyayojayan dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇam | sa tat karma pratiśu-
 śrāva duṣhkaram aiśvaryavān siddhiṣhu Vāsudevaḥ | nirmochane śaṭ
 sahasrāṇi hatvā saṇchhidya pāsān sahasā xurāntān | Muraṁ hatvā vini-
 hatyauḥ rāzo nirmochanaṁ chāpi jagāma vīraḥ | tatraiva tenāsya
 babhūva yuddham mahābalenātibalasya Viṣṇoḥ | śete sa Kṛishṇena hataḥ
 parāsur vāteneva mathitāḥ karnikāraḥ | āhṛitya Kṛishṇo maṇi-kuṇḍale
 te hatvā cha Bhaumaṁ Narakam Muraṇcha | śriyā vṛito yaśasā chaiva
 vidvān pratyājagāmāpratima-prabhāvaḥ | asmai varān adadaṁs tatra
 devā dṛishṭvā bhīmaṁ karma kṛitaṁ raṇe tat | "śramaś cha te yudhya-
 mānasya na syād ākāśe chāpsu cha te kramaḥ syāt | śāstrāṇi gātre na
 cha te kramerann" ity eva Kṛishṇaś cha tataḥ kritārthaḥ | evaṁ-rūpe
 Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guṇa-sampat sadaiva | tam asahyaṁ Viṣ-
 ṇum ananta-vīryam āśaṁsate Dhārttarāṣṭro vijetum |

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and con-
 cluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words :
 'Son of Prithā, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with
 thine enemies, o Savyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with
 his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle,
 smiting thy foes, or shall Kṛishṇa the son of Vāsudeva, with his car, to
 which Sugrīva (one of Kṛishṇa's horses) is yoked, protect thee from
 behind?' I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather
 than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Kṛishṇa was obtained by
 me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected
 for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the im-
 measurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer
 in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Kṛishṇa. If any one should
 attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast

pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmīṇī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Rāukmīṇeya was born. He (Kṛishṇa) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry.¹⁸⁶ He slew Pāndya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He attacked in battle Ekalavya the king of the Nishādas, who was invincible by others. He, [like ?] Jambha, sleeps, bereft of life by Kṛishṇa, who smote him furiously with a rock. Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst, in the assembly, of the Vṛishnis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Sālvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon *Sataghni*:¹⁸⁷ what mortal can assail him? There was an impregnable, formidable, and unassailable city of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotiṣa. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi.¹⁸⁸ The

¹⁸⁶ One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānām lalāṃam* by *devatānām madhye prāṣṭam* "approved among the gods." Another commentator says *lalāṃam* = *śiromāṇim*, "a head-jewel or ornament." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādharma also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Kṛishṇa's foot.

¹⁸⁷ A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson's Dictionary. See the end of note 162, page 180, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parva. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636–889. Kṛishṇa splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883) and kills the king of the Sālvas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615.

¹⁸⁸ The story of this demon is told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, pp. 581 ff.

assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Krishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (*aiśvaryavān siddhishu*), undertook that difficult task. Having in the rescue [or in the city Nirmochana] slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors,¹⁸⁹ having slain Mura and the Rāxasa Ogha, he proceeded to the rescue. There Viṣṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a *karnikāra*¹⁹⁰ tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Krishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods, having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: 'Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.' With these boons Krishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Viṣṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhritarashtra hopes to overcome."

It will be noticed that Krishṇa is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parva describes Krishna as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Krishṇa, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit

¹⁸⁹ These nooses are also mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's translation) and in the Harivamśa, v. 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii. p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the *dharma-pāśa*, the *kāla-pāśa*, and the *Vāruṇa-pāśa*. In the Vana-parva, 879, the epithet *surānta*, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa's discus.

¹⁹⁰ *Pterospermum acerifolium*.

the Pāṇḍavas in the forest; and as he shewed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): *Arjuna uvācha* | *Daśa-varṣha-sahasrāṇi yatra Sāyangriho muniḥ* | *vyacharas tvam purā Kṛishṇa parvate Gandhamādane* | *daśa-varṣha-sahasrāṇi daśa-varṣha-śatāni cha* | *pushkareshu avasaḥ Kṛishṇa tvam apo bhazayan purā* | *ūrdhva-bāhur viśālāyām Vadaryam Madhusūdana* | *atishṭha eka-pādena vāyu-bhazat śatam samāḥ* | *avakṛishṭottarāsangaḥ kṛiśo dhamani-santataḥ* | *āstḥ Kṛishṇa Sarasvatyām satre dvādaśa-vārshike* | *Prabhāsam apy athāsādya tīrtham puṇya-janochitam* | *tathā Kṛishṇa mahātejā dīcyaṁ varaka-sahasrikam* (sic) | *atishṭhas tvam yathaikena pādena nīyama-athitaḥ* | *loka-pravṛitti-hetoḥ tvam iti Vyāso mamābravīt* | *zeta-jñāḥ sarva-bhūtānām ādir antaś cha Keśava* | *nīdhānam tapasām Kṛishṇa yajñas teaṁ cha sanātanaḥ* | *nihatya Narakam Bhaumam āhṛitya maṇi-kundale* | *prathamotpāditaṁ Kṛishṇa medhyam āśvam avāspijah* | *kṛitvā tat karma lokānām rishabhaḥ sarva-loka-jit* | *abadhīs tvām raṇe sarvān sametān daitya-dānavān* | *tataḥ sarveśvaratvaṁ cha sampradāya Sachī-pateḥ* | *mānusheshu mahābāho prādurbhūto 'si Keśava* | *sa teaṁ Nārāyaṇaḥ bhūtvā Harir āstḥ parantapa* | *Brahmā Somaś cha Sūryaś cha Dharmo Dhātā Yamo 'nalaḥ* | *Vāyur Vaiśravaṇo Rudraḥ kālāḥ kham prithivī diśaḥ* | *ajaś charāchara-guruḥ srashtā tvam purushottama* | *parāyanaṁ devam ūrdhvaṁ kratubhir Madhusūdana* | *ayajo bhūri-tejā vai Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane* | *śataṁ śata-sahasrāṇi suvarṇasya Janārdana* | *ekai-kasmiṁś tadā yajño paripūrṇāni bhāgasah* | *Sādita Maurarājā pāśū Nisunda-Narakau hatau* | *kṛitaḥ zemaḥ puṇaḥ panthāḥ puram Prāgyjyotisham prati* | *Jārāthyām Āhṛitīḥ Krāthāḥ Sīsupālo janaiḥ saha* | *Jarāsandhaś cha Saivyaś cha Satadhanvā cha nirjitaḥ* | *tathā Parjanya-ghoshena rathenāditya-varchasā* | *avāpsīr mahishīm bhojyām raṇe nirjitya Rukmiṇam* | *Indrayumno hataḥ kopād Yavanaś cha Kaserumān* | *hataḥ Saubha-patiḥ Sālvas tvayā Saubhaṁ cha pātitaṁ* | *Irāvatyām hato Bhojaḥ Kārttavīrya-samo yudhi* | *Gopatis Tālaketuś cha tvayā vinihatāu ubhau* | *tām cha Bhogavatīm puṇyam Rishikāṁ tām Janārdana* | *Dvārakām ātmasāt kṛitvā samudraṁ gamayishyasi* | *na krodho na cha mātsaryam nānṛitam Madhusūdana* | *teayi tishṭhati Dāśārha na nṛiśaṁsyaṁ kuto 'nṛijuh* | *āsīnaṁ chaitya-madhye teaṁ dīpyamānaṁ sva-tejasā* | *āgamyā rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchantaḥbhayaṁ Achyuta* |

Vana-parva, 471: "Formerly, Kṛishṇa, thou didst roam for ten

thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādana, where the muni Sāyangriha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest, glorious Kṛishṇa, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, o great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyana, wert Hari, o vexer of thy foes. Thou, o Purushottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Sūrya, Dharma, Dhātṛi, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Kṛishṇa, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 118, beginning *Adīter api putratvam*, and ending *nihatāḥ śataśo 'surāḥ*.] The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthī Āhvṛiti, Krātha, Śiśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Saivya and Satadhanvan¹⁹¹ were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy ear, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 179.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Sālva, the lord of Saubha, and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārttavīrya¹⁹² in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvati,

¹⁹¹ See Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, pp. 428 ff.

¹⁹² See the First Part of this work, pp. 161 ff.

as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāsārha (Krishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the *chaitya* (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thine own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 193, beginning *yugānte sarva-bhūtāni saṅxipya*, etc.]

VI. Though, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābharata and Purāṇas, Krishṇa is generally identified with Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 42) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Suka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yada. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Viṣṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (*tatrāmśenācatir-
vāsya Viṣṇor vīryāni śaṁsa naḥ | acatīrya Yador vaṁśe bhagavān bhūla-
bhāvanaḥ | kṛitavān yāni viśvātmā tāni no vada vistarāt |*). Suka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Viṣṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—*Giraṁ samādhanu gagane samīritāṁ
nīśamya Vedhās tridaśān uvācha ha | gāṁ pauruṣhīm me śṛiṇutāmarāḥ
punarvidhiyatām āśutathaiva māchiram | puraiva puṁsā (Īścarena, Comm.)
'vadhṛito dharā-jvaro bhavadbhir aṁśair Yadushūpajanyatām | sa yāved
urvyā bharam (sic) īścareśvaraḥ | sva-kāla-śaktyā xapayāṁś chared bhuvi |
Vasudeva-gṛiḥe sākṣād bhagavān Puruṣhaḥ paraḥ | janishyate tat-priyōr-
thaṁ sambhavantu sura-striyaḥ | Vasudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sahasra-vadanaḥ
svaraḥ | agrato bhavitā devo Hareḥ priya-chikirshayā | Viṣṇor māyā
bhagavatī yayā sammohitaṁ jagat | ādiṣṭā prabhuṇā 'mśena kāryārthe
sambhaviṣhyatī |*

“Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhās (Brahmā) said to the gods: ‘Hear from me, immortals,

the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The distress of the earth was already understood by Purusha. Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person (*sāxāt*) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity shall first become a portion of Vasudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Vishṇu, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects."

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Vishṇu is spoken of as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur :

*Nṛipānām kathitaḥ sarvo bhavatā vāmśa-vistarah | Vāmśānucharitām
chaiva yathāvad anuvarṇitam | Aṁśāvatāro brahmarṣhe yo 'yaṁ Yadu-
kulodbhavaḥ | Viṣṇos taṁ vistareṇāhaṁ śrotum icchhāmy aśeshataḥ |
Chakrāyāni karmāṇi bhagavān Purushottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁśenāvatīryorvyām
tatra tāni mune vada | Parāśara uvācha | Maitreya śrūyatām etad yat
prishṭo 'ham iha trayā | Viṣṇor aṁśāṁśa-sambhūti-charitām jagato hitam |*

"You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies : Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishṇu."

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 493-497) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revivd in Kansa, and other demons had also been born as princes; and that she could not support the load. Brahmā proposed that they should resort to Vishṇu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a" very "small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (*sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jaganmayah | svalpāṁśenāvatīryorvyām dharmasya kurute sthitim |*). The gods

accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishnu in a long hymn. Vishnu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahmā renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

*Evam saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān paramēśvaraḥ | Ujjahārātmanas
keśau sita-kṛishṇau mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśau vana-
dhā-tale | Avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ karishyataḥ | Surāścha
sakalāḥ svāṁśair avatīrya mahītale* ¹⁹³ | *Kurvantu yuddham unmattaiḥ
pūrvotpannair mahāsuraiḥ | Tataḥ xayam aśeshās te Daiteyā dharanītale |
Prayāsyanti na sandeho mad-drik-pāta-vichūrṇitāḥ | Vasudevasya yā
patnī Devakī devatopamā | Tasyāyam aṣṭamo garbho* ¹⁹⁴ | *matkeśo bhavitū
surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyam* ¹⁹⁵ | *Kāmsam ghātayitū bhūvi | Kālanemiṁ
samudbhūtam ityuktṛvā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adṛiṣyāya tatas tasmai pra-
ṇipatya mahāmune | Meru-prishṭham surā jagmur avateruḥ cha bhūtale |*

“Being thus lauded, the divine Paramēśvara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, ‘These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who existed in former births. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva, who (Devakī) resembles the gods. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kālanemi who has been born.’ Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth.”

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishnu Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages, and which have reference to the second also :

“*Chakāra*” *iti | tatra Kṛishṇāvatāre ati-parichhinna-manushyākāra-
līla-vigraheṇāvīrbhāvād aṁśāṁśena ity uktam upachārāt | natu śakti-
hrāseṇa Kṛishṇādy-avatāreṣu api viśva-rūpa-darśana-sarvaiśvarya-
ukteḥ | Nanu aṁśino 'ṁśoddhāreṇa śakty-ādi-hrāsaḥ tathā 'ṁśasyāpi tad-*

¹⁹³ Another MS. reads *mahīṭalam*.

¹⁹⁴ Another MS. reads *esha garbho 'ṣṭamas tasyāḥ*.

¹⁹⁵ Another MS. reads *tatrāham*.

apexya alpa-śaktitcādikaṁ dhānya-rāśy-ādi-vibhāga iva prasajyeta iti ched na | prakāśa-svarūpe tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mūlaka-dīpāntarasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakty-ādi-sāmya-darśanāt "pūrṇam adah pūrṇam idam pūrṇāt pūrṇam udachyate | pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādya pūrṇam eva-śishyate" iti śruteḥ | "param Brahma narākṛiti gūḍham param Brahma manushya-lingaṁ Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" ityādi-vākyebhyaś cha | yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhā-tale" ity-ādāv "ayaṁ Kaṁsaṁ ghātayitā" ity atra keśa-vyapadeśaḥ sa Brahmanah paripūrṇasya bhū-bhāra-haraṇa-rūpaṁ kāryyam aty-alpa-yantra-sādhyam iti khyāpayitūṁ na tu keśayoḥ Rāma-Kṛishṇatvaṁ vaktum | jaḍayoḥ keśayos tad-deha-zetrajñatvābhāvena tat-kāryam karttum aśaktatvāt | keśātmaka-māyayod-bhava-Rāma-Kṛishṇa-dehāv ādiśya [āviśya ?] bhagavān eva tat tat karishyati iti ched om iti brūmah phalato 'viśeshāt "kṛishṇāśṣṭamyām aham niśi" iti svayam evoktatvāch cha ity alaṁ vistarēṇa |

"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Kṛishṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Kṛishṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shewn himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Śatapatha Brahmana, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;' and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Kṛishṇa is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instru-

mentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rama and Krishna: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord possessing the bodies of Balarāma and Krishna, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I shall [be born] on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity."¹⁹⁶

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text:¹⁹⁷

*Ujjahāra | utpātītavān | ayam bhāvaḥ | mama dushkaram ched yush-
mābhiḥ sähāyyam kāryam syāt | na tv etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharanādena
mahaty api kārye mat-keśa-mātrasyaiva samarthatvād iti na tu keśa-
mātrāvatāra iti mantavyam | "mad-drik-pāta-vichārṇitāḥ" "kṛish-
nāshṭamyām aham utpatsyāmi" ityādishu sākāt svāvatārateokteḥ | nita-
kṛishna-keśoddhāraṇam cha śobhārtham eva | "Ujjahāra means that he
'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a
difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same
is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing
the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it
is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the
mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words
'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth
night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc. etc. The mention of his
plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament."*¹⁹⁸

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Krishna from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parva, 7306 ff.:

*Tair eva sārddham tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam |
anantam avyaktam ajam purāṇam sanātanaṁ viśvam ananta-rūpam | sa
chāpi tad vyadadhāt sarvaṁ eva tataḥ sarve sambabhūvur dharanyām |
sa chāpi keśau Harir udevavarha śuklam ekam aparaṁ chāpi kṛishnam |*

¹⁹⁶ The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishnu Purāṇa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

¹⁹⁷ I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

¹⁹⁸ See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishnu Purāṇa, VII., note 3 in p. 492, and note 23 in p. 497.

*tau chāpi keśau nivīṣetām Yadūnām kule striyau Devakīm Rohiṇīm cha |
taylor eko Baladevo babhūva yo 'sau śvetas tasya devasya keśaḥ | Kṛishṇo
deitīyaḥ Keśavaḥ sambabhūva keśo yo 'sau varṇataḥ kṛishṇa uktaḥ |*

"Along with them (viz., four preceding Indras, and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyana, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devakī and Rohiṇī. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*keśa*), which was called black (*kṛishṇa*) in colour, became Kṛishṇa, Keśava."

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nīlakaṇṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata :

*Atra keśāv eva reto-rūpau Pāṇḍavānām iva Rāma-Kṛishṇayor api
prakarana-sāṅgaty-arthaṁ sākṣād deva-retasa utpatter avaktavyatvāt¹⁹⁰ |
ata eva Devakyām Rohiṇyāṁcha sākṣāt keśa-praveśa uchyate na tu Vasudeve |
tathā sati tu "devānām reto varshaṁ varshasya reta ośadhayaḥ" ityādi-
śrouta-pranādyā 'smad-ādi-vat tayor api vyavadhānena deva-prabha-
vatvam syāt | tathā cha "etan nānā-vatārāṇām nidhānaṁ vijam avya-
yam" iti bhagavataḥ sākṣād matsyādy-avatāra-vijatvam uchyamānaṁ
virudhyeta | apicha keśa-retasor deha-jatve samāne 'pi retasḥ-prabhavate
'rvāksrotastvena manushyatvam putratvam cha syāt | tathā cha "Kṛish-
ṇas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrīmad-bhāgavatoktiḥ sāṅgachhate | na cha
keśoddhāraṇāt Kṛishṇasyāpy aṁśatvam pratiyate iti vāchyam | keśasya
dehāvayavatvābhāvāt | tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartavyo yathā apām phene
vajrasya praveśaḥ evaṁ Devakī-Rohiṇyor jāṭhare praveśo kartavyo keśa-
dvayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārṣṇyena eva āvirbhāva eśṭavyaḥ
iti yuktaṁ |*

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Bala-rāma and Kṛishṇa, just as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohiṇī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But such being the case, according to the Vedic phrase-

¹⁹⁰ The MS. in the E. I. Office library reads *avakya-vaktavyatvāt* |

ology, that 'rain is the seed of the gods and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'²⁰⁰—it would be opposed to that declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Kṛishṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Kṛishṇa also is shewn to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a *part* of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters,²⁰¹ so when an entrance was to be made into the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

VII.—In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Viṣṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 33, 43, 150). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Sāntiparva, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishtira says to Kṛishṇa :

²⁰⁰ I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.

²⁰¹ I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz., that mentioned in R. V. viii. 14, 13: *Apām phenena Namucēḥ śira Indrodavarttayaḥ | viśvā yad ajayaḥ spridhaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyana tells the following story: *Purā kila Indro 'aurāṇ jīvā Namuchim asuraṁ grahituṁ na śakṣā | sa cha yudhyamānas tenāsurena jagrihe | sa cha grihitam Indram evam avochat "teṣāṁ viśvājūṁ vātrāṇ aḥni cha śuśkeṣṭvārdrena chāyudhena yadi māṁ na hīṁsī"* iti | *sa Indras tena viśvāḥ saṁs akroṣṭrayaḥ sandhau śuśkṣṭvārdra-vilāṣaṇa phenena tasya śiras chichheda | ayam artha 'ayam pratipadyate | He Indra apām phenena vajrībhūtena Namucher Asurasya śira udavarttayaḥ* | "Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: 'I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam which has the character of being both dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse." The story is also told in the Indravijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parva, vv. 320 ff.

*Tava Kṛishṇa prasādena nayena cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yadu-
śārdūla tathā vikramayena cha | punaḥ prāptam idaṁ rājyam pitri-
paitāmahaṁ mayā | namas te Puṇḍarikāxa punaḥ punar arindama |
tvām ekam āhuḥ Puruṣaṁ tvām āhuḥ Sāttvatāṁ gatim | nāmabhis tvām
bahuvīdhaiḥ stuvanti prayatā dvijāḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvāt-
man viśva-sambhava | Viṣṇo jishṇo Hare Kṛishṇa Vaikunṭha Puruṣhott-
ama | Adityāḥ saptaadhā tvām tu purāṇe garbhatām gataḥ | Pṛisni-
garbhas tvam evaikaḥ triyugaṁ tvām vadanty api | Suchisravā Hṛishi-
keśo ghṛitāchir haṁsa uchyase | trichakṛuḥ Sambhur ekaḥ tvām vibhur
Dāmodaro 'pi cha | Varāho 'gnir vṛihadbhānur vṛishabhas Tārxya-
laxaṇaḥ | . . . 1514: Yonis tvam asya pralayaścha Kṛishṇa tvam
evedaṁ sṛijasi viśvam agre | viśvañchedaṁ tvad-vaśe viśvayone namo 'stu
te śārṅga-chakrāsi-pāṇe |*

"By thy favour, Kṛishṇa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father's and grandfather's. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Puruṣa: thee alone they call the refuge of the Sāttvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Viṣṇu, conqueror, Hari, Kṛishṇa, Vaikunṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.²⁰² Thou alone art Pṛisnigarbha; they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (*yugas*). Thou art called Suchisravas, Hṛishikeśa, Ghṛitāchi, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,²⁰³ the Bull, he whose sign is Tārxya (Garuḍa)." A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words: "Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Kṛishṇa: it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou universal source: glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword."

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīṣma to Kṛishṇa is given, in which the following lines occur:

*"Yasmin viśvāni bhūtāni tiṣṭhanti cha viśanti cha | guṇa-bhūtāni
bhūteṣu sūtre mayi-gaṇā iva | yasmin nitye tate tantau dr̥iḍhe srag iva*

²⁰² This, I suppose, refers to the Ādityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, p. 101.

²⁰³ A name of Agni.

*tishṭhati | sad-asad grathitām viśvām viśvāṅge viśva-karmāṇi | Hariḥ
 sahasra-śirasām sahasra-charaṇexayam | prāhur Nārāyaṇaḥ
 devaṁ yaṁ viśvasya parāyaṇam | anīyasām anīyāṁsām sthaviṣṭhām cha
 sthaviyasām | gariyasām garishṭham cha śreshṭhām cha śreyasām api |
 yaṁ vākeṣu anuvākeṣu nishatsūpanishatsu cha | grīṇanti satya-kar-
 māṇaṁ satyaṁ satyeshu sāmasu | ityādi | 1616: Sarvātma
 sarva-vit sarvaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-bhāvaṇaḥ | yaṁ devaṁ Devakī devī
 Vasudevād ajānat | Bhaumasya Brahmano guptyai dīptam Agnim
 ivāraviḥ | . . . 1622: Yasmin lokāḥ sphurantīme jāle śakunayo yaṭhā |*

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread, the universe abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, . . . whom they call Nārāyaṇa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in *vākas*, *anuvākas*, in *nishads*²⁰⁴ and in *upanishads*, and in true *sāma*-hymns, . . . the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakī bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (*i.e.* the Vedas, Brahmans and sacrifices, *comm.*) as *Araṇi* (the wood used for kindling fire), produced the flaming Agni. . . . In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water," etc.

In the following passage, also from the Santiparva, Krishna identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see

²⁰⁴ This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as *nishads*, or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the *Upanishads* may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the *Upapuranas* do to the *Puranas*. Nilakantha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains *nishatsu* as meaning *karmāṅgādy-avabaddha-devatādi-jñāna-vākyeshu*, "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda, etc." The *Upanishads* "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (*kevalātma-jñāpaka-vākyeshu*). *Vākas*, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (*sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu*), while *anuvākas* are "texts of the Brāhmans, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (*mantrārtha-vicāraṇa-bhūteshu brāhmaṇa-vākyeshu*).

above, pp. 155-170) in which Krishna is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Krishna to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Krishna accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half²⁰⁵ (*tvaṁ hi me 'rddhaṁ smṛitaḥ purā*). Nārāyaṇa (*i.e.* Viṣṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140: *Yasya prasādajo Brahmā Rudraścha krodha-sambhavaḥ* |). He then goes on (13144): *Brāhmo rātri-xye prāpte tasya hy amita-tejasah | prasādāt prādurbhavat padmam padma-nibhexaṇa | tato Brahmā sambhavat sa tasyaiva prasādajah | aham xaye lalāṭāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāviṣṭasya sañjajñe Rudrah saṁhāra-kāraḥ | etau deau vibudha-śreṣṭhau prasāda-krodha-jāv ubhau | tad-ādeṣita-panthānau spṛiṣṭi-saṁhāra-kāraḥ | nimitta-mātram tāv atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradāu | kaparddi jaṭilo munḍaḥ śmaśāna-griha-sevakaḥ | ugra-vrata-dhāro Rudro yogi parama-dāruṇaḥ | Daza-kratu-haraśchaiva Bhaga-netra-haras tathā | Nārāyaṇātmako jñeyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pūjyamāne vai deva-deve Mahēśvare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | aham ātmā hi lokānām viśeṣhām Pāṇḍu-nandana | tasmā ātmānam evāgre Rudrāṁ sampūjayāmy aham | yady aham nārchayeyāṁ vai Īśānāṁ varadaṁ Śivam | ātmānam nārchayet kaśchid iti me bhāvit-ātmanaḥ | mayā pramāṇaṁ hi kṛitaṁ lokaḥ samanuvarttate | pramāṇāni hi pūjyāni tatas tam pūjayāmy aham | yas taṁ vetti sa mām vetti yo 'nu taṁ sa hi mām anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhākṛitaṁ | loka charati Kaunteya vyakti-sthaṁ sarva-karmasu | na hi me kenachid deyo varaḥ Pāṇḍava-nandana | iti sañchintya manasā purāṇam Rudram īśvaram | putrārtham ārādhitavān aham ātmānam ātmanā | na hi Viṣṇuḥ pranamati kasmaichit vibudhāya cha | ṛita ātmānam eveti tato Rudram bhajāmy aham | sabrahmakāḥ sarudrāścha sendrā devāḥ saharashibhiḥ | archayanti sura-śreṣṭhāṁ devāṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ Harim | bhaviṣyataṁ varttatāṁcha bhūtānāṁchaiva Bhārata | sarveṣhām agrāṇī Viṣṇuḥ sevyah pūjyaścha nityaśah ityādi |*

²⁰⁵ See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 194, 198, 199.

"When the end of Brahmā's night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, o thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offspring of his Vishnu's good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger, have their courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplisners [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Dakṣa's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Mahesvara is worshipped, then, son of Prithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Isāna, the boon-bestowing Siva, no one would worship myself—this is [the reflection?] made by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows.²⁸ Authoritative examples are to be revered: hence I reverence him (Siva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.²⁹ Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son [see p. 163]. For Vishnu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Vishnu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually."

In the following passage (Anuśāsana-parva, vv. 6295 ff.), some parts of which may be later interpolations, Krishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is

²⁸ See above, p. 46, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gita, iii. 21 ff.

²⁹ Comp. phrase in p. 204.

represented as the supreme deity. Bhishma, at the request of Yudhishtira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Krishna. He states that Krishna had performed a ceremonial (*vrata*) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis fire issued from the mouth of Krishna, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Krishna asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (*tejas*) of Vishnu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahadeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of this power (*tejas*). Krishna next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Krishna's praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himālaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nārada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahadeva and his wife Umā or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya. Mahadeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (*tapas*, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (*Bhūtas*) and by the nymphs (*Apsarases*), etc. etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Umā comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (*Bhūta-stri-gaṇa*), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and *vashatkāras*, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame which bursts from Mahadeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it con-

sumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter enquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīshma then informs us that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (*Gandharvas*). We should have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor: but at this point he is interrupted by Bhīshma, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds, and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Krishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Krishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he should have a son like himself. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Krishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889). He then goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine

character. Yudishthira, however, is still unsatisfied, and enquires as follows (6937 ff.):

*Kim ekam daivataṁ loke kiṁ vā py ekam parāyaṇam | kaṁ stuvantaḥ
kam archantaḥ prāpnuyur mānavāḥ śubham | ko dharmāḥ sarva-dharmā-
nam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ japan muchyate jantur janma-saṁsāra-
bandhandī | Bhīṣma uvācha | Jagat-prabhuṁ deva-devam anantam
purushottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasreṇa puruṣaḥ satatottthitaḥ | tam eva
chārchayan nityam bhaktyā puruṣam avyayam | dhyāyan stuvan nama-
syaṁścha yajamānas tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanaṁ Viṣṇuṁ sarva-loka-
mahesvaram | lokādhyaxaṁ stuvan nityaṁ sarva-duḥkhātigo bhavet |
brahmanyam sarva-dharma-jñaṁ lokānāṁ kirtti-varddhanam | loka-
nāthaṁ mahad bhūtaṁ sarva-bhūta-bhavodbhavam | esha me sarva-dhar-
maṁ dharmo 'dhikatamo mataḥ | . . . 6946 : Yataḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni
bhavanti ādi-yugāgame | yasmiṁścha pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yuga-
xaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagonnāthasya bhūpate | Viṣṇor nāma-
sahasram me śṛṇu pāpa-bhayāpaham |*

“What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By muttering what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhīṣma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Puruṣa, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Puruṣa, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Viṣṇu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augmenter of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . . v. 6946: Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Viṣṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing *yuga*, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the *yuga*.”

These thousand names of Viṣṇu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all of them ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz., Sarva, Sarva, Siva, Sthānu (v. 6953), Iśāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the *Anuśāsana-parva*, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.:

*Pitāmahād api varah śāśvataḥ Puruṣho Hariḥ | Kṛishṇo jāmbūna-
dābhāso vyabhre sūrya ivoditaḥ | daśa-bāhur mahātejā devatāri-nisūdanaḥ |
śrīvatsaṅko Hṛishikeśaḥ sarva-daivata-pūjitaḥ | Brahmā tasyodara-bhava
tathā chāhaṁ śiro-bhavaḥ | śiroruhebhyo jyotīṁshi romaḥśyaścha surā-
surāḥ | ṛishayo deha-sambhūtās tathā lokās cha śāśvataḥ | Pitāmaha-
grihaṁ sākṣāt sarva-deva-grihaṁ cha saḥ | so 'syāḥ prithivyāḥ kṛitsnāyāḥ
srashṭā tribhuvaneśvaraḥ | saṁharttā chaiva bhūtānāṁ sthācarasya char-
asya cha | sa hi deva-varah sākṣād deva-nāthaḥ parantapaḥ | sarvajñaḥ sa
hi saṁśliṣṭaḥ sarvagaḥ sarvato-mukhaḥ | paramātmā hṛishikeśaḥ sarva-
vyāpī maheśvaraḥ | na tasmāt paramam bhūtaṁ triṣhu lokeshu kiñchana |
sanātano vai Madhuhā Govinda iti viśrutaḥ | sa sarvān pārthivān sa-
khye ghātayishyati mānadaḥ | sura-kāryyārtham utpanno mānushaṁ
vapur āsthitaḥ | na hi deva-gaṇāḥ śaktās Trivikrama-vinākṛitāḥ | bhuvane
deva-kāryyāṇi karttuṁ nāyaka-varjjitāḥ | nāyakaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ sarva-
bhūta-namaskṛitaḥ | etasya deva-nāthasya deva-kāryya-ratasya cha |
brahma-bhūtasya satataṁ devarshi-śaraṇasya cha | Brahmā vasati garbha-
sthaḥ śarīre mukha-saṁsthitaḥ | sarvāḥ sukhaṁ saṁśritās cha śarīre tasya
devatāḥ | sa devaḥ puṇḍarikāxaḥ śrīgarbhaḥ śrī-sahoshitaḥ | ityādi | . . .
bhavārtham iha devānāṁ buddhyā paramayā yutaḥ | prajāpatye śubhe
mārge Mānave dharma-saṁhite | samutpatsyati Govindo Manor tamśe
mahātmanaḥ | . . . v. 6836: Sa Sūrah xatriya-śreshṭho mahāvīryyo
mahāyaśāḥ | sa-vaṁśa-vistara-karaṁ janayishyati mānadaḥ | Vāsudevo
iti khyātam putram Ānakadundubhim | tasya putraś chaturbāhur Vāsu-
devo bhavishyati | dātā brāhmaṇa-satkarttā brahmabhūto devīja-priyaḥ |
. . . 6842: Tam bhavantaḥ samāsādya vāṇ-mālyair arhaṇair varaiḥ |
archayantu yathānyāyam Brahmāṇam iva śāśvataṁ | yo hi mām draś-
ṭum ichheta Brahmāṇaṁcha pitāmahaṁ | draśṭavyas tena bhagavān
Vāsudevaḥ pratāpavān | drishṭe tasminn ahaṁ drishṭo na me 'trāsti
viehārāṇā | pitāmaho vā deveśa iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |*

“Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Puruṣa, Krishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛishikeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair

of his head, the gods and Asuras from his hairs, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the moveable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishīkeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice) are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Sṛī, dwelling together with Sṛī. . . . For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati, of Manu, abounding in righteousness. . . . 6836: This Sūra, the most eminent of Kshattriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi,²⁰⁸ the proloner of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a benefactor of Brāhmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmans. . . . 6842: You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods: know this ye whose wealth is austerity."

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parva (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīshma, when called on by Yudhishtira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmans, refers him

²⁰⁸ See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 436.

He afterwards goes on in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 165-170, to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity, though he does not there commit himself to any such explicit avowal of the supreme divinity of his rival, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (*Anuśāsana-parva*, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 230 f.

In the *Āśvamedhika-parva* it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Kṛishṇa had left the city of the Pandus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pandus with one another. Kṛishṇa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Kṛishṇa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni's wrath, Kṛishṇa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff. :

*Vāsudeva uvācha | tamo rajas cha sattvaṁ cha viddhi bhāvān mad-
āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn vā 'pi viddhi mat-prabhavān devīa | mayi
sarvāni bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitāḥ ityādi |
1567 : Sad asachechaiva yat prāhur avyaktaṁ vyaktaṁ eva cha | avaraṇ-
cha varaṇchaiva sarvaṁ etad mad-ātmakam | ye chāśrameshu vai dharmās
chaturdhā viditā munē | vaidikāni cha sarvāni viddhi sarvaṁ mad-ātma-
kam | asachecha sad-asachechaiva yad viśvaṁ sad-asat-param | mattaḥ
parataraṁ nāsti deva-devāt sanātanaṁ | oṁkāra-pramukhān vedān viddhi
mām tvam Bhṛigūdvaḥ | yūpaṁ somaṁ charuṁ homaṁ tridaśāpyāyanam
makhe | hotāraṁ api havyaṁcha viddhi mām Bhṛigu-nandana | adhvary-
yuḥ kalpakasyāpi haviḥ parama-saṁskṛitam | udgātā chāpi mām stauti
gita-ghoshair mahādhvare | prāyaścitteshu mām brahman śānti-maṅgala-
vāchakāḥ | stuvanti viśvakarmāṇāṁ satatāṁ devīa-sattama | mama viddhi
sutaṁ dharmam agrajaṁ devīa-sattama | mānasāṁ dayitāṁ vipra sarva-
bhūta-dayātmakam | tatrāhaṁ varttamānaiścha nirṛittaiśchaiva māna-
vaiḥ | bahvīḥ saṁsaramāṇo vai yonir varttāmi sattama | dharma-saṁra-
anāṁrthāya dharma-saṁsthāpanāya cha | taiḥ tair veśaiḥ cha rūpaiḥ cha trishu
lokeshu Bhārgava | ahaṁ Fiṣṇur aham Brahmā Sakro 'tha prabhavāvya-
yaḥ (āpyayaḥ ?)³⁰⁹ | bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya vrashta sāmāra eva cha |*

³⁰⁹ See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under *apyaya* ; and *Udyoga-parva*, v. 2569.

*adharmaṃ carttāmānānām sarveśhām aham achyutaḥ | dharmasya uttam
 badhnāmi chalite chalite yuge | tās tā yonih praviśyāham prajānām hite-
 kāmayaḥ | yadā tv ahaṁ deva-yonau carttāmi Bhṛigu-nandana | tadā
 'haṁ deva-vat sarvaṁ ācharāmi na saṁśayaḥ | . . . 1582: Mānushye cartta-
 māne tu kṛipāṇāṁ yāchitā mayā | na cha te jāta-sammohā cacho 'grihṇanta
 mohitāḥ | bhayaṅcha mahad uddiśya trāsitāḥ Kuravo mayā | kruddhena
 bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarsitāḥ | te 'dharmencha saṁyuktāḥ
 paritāḥ kāla-dharmaṇā | dharmena nihatā yuddhe gatāḥ svargaṁ na
 saṁśayaḥ | Uttāṅga uvācha | abhijānāmi jagataḥ karttārāṁ teṣāṁ
 Janārdana |*

"Know that the qualities of darkness (*taṁas*), passion (*rajas*), and goodness (*sattva*) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. 1567 ff.: That which men call entity and nonentity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, o muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], are part of my nature. As regards nonentity, and that which is both entity and nonentity, and that which transcends both entity and nonentity,—know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhṛigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by *omkāra*, the sacrificial post, the *soma*, the *charu*, the *homa*, the *tridaśūpyāyana* (that which satiates the immortals) in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the *hotṛi* (priest), and the *havya* (oblation). [I am] also the *adhvaryu* of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The *udgātṛi* celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, o excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. In his character I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishṇu, Brahmā, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. While all men live in un-

righteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away. While entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures, whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my divine character." . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582: "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven."²¹⁰ On hearing this reply of Krishna, the sage Uttanga breaks out: "I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world," etc. Krishna then shews him his divine form.

VII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 155 f., 162, 164), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishṇu (pp. 222-234). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 195, 204, 226, 231), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential

²¹⁰ See Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: *Āhave tu hataṁ śūram na śocheta kathañchana | aśochyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ svarga-loke mahīyate | na hy annaṁ nodakam tasya na snānam nāpy aśauchakam | hatasya karttum icchānti tasya lokān śṛṇusheva me | varōpsarah-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hataṁ | tvaramāṇā bhīdhāvanti "mama bhartā bhaved" iti* | "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain, is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (*apsarases*) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, *Indische Studien*, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representations about Hūris in the *Coran*. In the same way Krishna says to Jarāsandha (*Sabha-parva*, v. 869): *Ko hi jānann abhijanam ātmavān xatriyo nṛipah | nāvisat svargam atulāṁ raṇānantaram avayam | svargaṁ hy eva samāsthāya raṇa-yajñeshu dīṣitāḥ | jayanti xatriyā lokāṁs tad viddhi manujarshabha | svarga-yonir mahad brahma svarga-yonir mahad yajñah | svarga-yonis tapo yuddhe mṛityuḥ sa 'vyabhichāra-cān* | "For what Kshatriya king, who had a soul, and recognised his own kindred, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kshatriyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (*tapas*) in fight, too, is the source of paradise such a death never fails of its reward."

oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims. Another passage of this description occurs in the *Harivamśa*, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Śiva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in their conflict with Kṛṣṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Śiva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Śiva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called *jṛimbhana*, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Śiva against his conflict with Kṛṣṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Śiva perceiving by *yoga* (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kṛṣṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṇḍeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Śiva) in the form of Hari (Viṣṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṇḍeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):

*Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | Śivāya Viṣṇu-rūpāya Viṣṇave Śiva-rūpiṇe |
athāntaraṃ na paśyāmi tena te diśataḥ²¹¹ śivam | an-ādi-madhya-nidhanam
etaḍ axaram avyayam | tad eva te pravazyāmi rūpam Hari-Harātmakam |
yo vai Viṣṇuḥ sa vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ | ekā mūrttis trayo
devā Rudra-Viṣṇu-Pitāmahaḥ | varadā loka-karttāro loka-nāthāḥ sva-
yambhuvaḥ | ardha-nārīśvarās te tu vrataṃ tīraṃ samāśṛitāḥ | yathā
jale jalāṃ xiptāṃ jalam eva tu tad bhavet | Rudraṃ Viṣṇuḥ pravīṣṭas
tu tathā Rudramayo bhavet | agniṃ agniḥ pravīṣṭas tu agnir eva yathā
bhavet | tathā Viṣṇuṃ pravīṣṭas tu Rudro Viṣṇumayo bhavet |
Rudraṃ agnimayaṃ vidyād Viṣṇuḥ somātmakaḥ smṛitāḥ | agnīśho-
mātmakaṃ chaiva jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam | karttārau cāpaharttārau
sthāvarasya charasya cha | jagataḥ śubha-karttārau prabhū Viṣṇu-
Mahēśvarau | karttṛi-kāraṇa-karttārau karttṛi-kāraṇa-kāraṇau | bhūta-*

²¹¹ The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *darśitāḥ*.

*bhavya-bhavau devau Nārāyaṇa-Maheśvarau | etau tau cha pravak-
tārāv etau tau cha prabhāmayau | jagataḥ pālakāv etāv etau sṛiṣṭi-
karau smṛitau | ete chaiva pravarshanti bhānti vānti sṛijanti cha |
etat paratarāṃ guhyaṃ kathitaṃ te Pitāmaha | yaś chainam paśhate
nityaṃ yaś chainaṃ śrinuyād naraḥ | prāpnoti paramaṃ sthānaṃ
Rudra-Vishṇu-prasāda-jam | devau Hari-Harau stoshye Brahmaṇā saha
saṅgatau | etau cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya
paramo Viṣṇur Viṣṇoścha paramaḥ Sivaḥ | oka eva doidhā-bhūto loka
charati nityasaḥ | na vinā Saṅkaram Viṣṇur na vinā Keśavam Sivaḥ |
tasmād ekatvam āyātau Rudropendrau tu tau purā | ityādi*

"When thou shewest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive thereby no difference between Siva who exists in the form of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu who exists in the form of Siva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishṇu and Mahādeva) combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitāmaha (Brahmā): the substance (*mūrti*) is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Vishṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishṇu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Vishṇu must possess the nature of Vishṇu. Rudra should be understood to possess the nature of fire; Vishṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the Moon); and the world moveable and immoveable possesses the nature of Agni and Soma. The lords, Vishṇu and Maheśvara, are the makers and destroyers of things moveable and immoveable, and the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara are the makers, causes, and makers, the makers, causes and causers, existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it, obtains the highest abode granted by the grace of Rudra and Vishṇu. I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and

these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the world. Vishnu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Siva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishnu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishnu does not [exist] without Sankara, nor Siva without Keśava: hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishnu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of Krishna given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the *Mahābhārata* there are some (see pp. 153 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Krishna.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 170 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Śiśupāla, Duryodhana, Karna, and Salya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognised by the Vaishnavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Krishna's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 200 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 206–216, where the achievements of Krishna are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognise a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history)²¹² underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yādava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The

²¹² See Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, p. 616.

supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Krishna himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Drona-parva, v. 402, and the Adiparva, v. 8196, quoted in p. 209, and the Udyoga-parva, quoted in p. 213).

The identification of Arjuna and Krishna with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 192–206)²¹³ is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishṇu and Krishna, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Krishna,—when Arjuna the bosom friend of the latter would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Krishna and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Krishna is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 154, 156, 162). In another set of texts, however (pp. 222 ff.), Krishna, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God,²¹⁴ while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 195, 204 f., 226, 231, 237). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Krishna, and that in another place Krishna is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

²¹³ In Boettlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *Nārāyaṇa* is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Puruṣa, the rishi of the Puruṣa-sūkta (R. V., x. 90). *Nara* is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

²¹⁴ Even in the parts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 42 and 216 ff.) where Krishna is represented as a *partial* incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 42.

than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the *Mahābhārata* by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

It does not, I think, result from a comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Krishna, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Saivas and Vaishnavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Krishna plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (*Mahādeva*) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 154–170, 194 f., and 227 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 194 and 227). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.²¹⁵

Lassen remarks (i. 780), that in the epic poems the worship of Vishnu is but seldom²¹⁶ mentioned—a fact which he regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of

²¹⁵ See Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 562, 571, 610, 682, 711, 716, 741, and 781.

²¹⁶ Lassen (i. 679) refers to a passage of the *Vana-parva* (15283 ff.) where Duryodhana is prevented from offering a *rājasūya* sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer to Vishnu. This story will be quoted further on.

that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmans and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrthayātrā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parva, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitarani river, in the country of the Kalingas:

Tatas Tripishṭapaṁ gachchhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraniḥ punyā nadī pāpa-pranāśini | tatra snātvā 'rchayitvā cha Śūlapāniṁ Vṛishadhvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachcheta paramāṁ gatim |
 "Let him then go to Tripishṭapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitarani, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book it is said of the north bank of the same river:

Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattavān makhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābravit | hrīte paśau tadā devās tam ūchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhā mā dharmān sakalān vaśiḥ | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhir vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | ishṭyā chainam tarpayitvā mānayāñchakrire tadā | tataḥ sa paśum utsṛijya deva-yānena jagmicān | tatrānuvaṁso Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishtira | ayātayāmaṁ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ saṅkalpayāmāsur bhayād Rudrasya śāśvaṣam | imāṁ gāthām atra gāyann apah sprīṣati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'śya panthās cha chazushā 'bhiprakāśate |

"In this very place, o king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishtira: 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all portions, the *ayātayāma* (or fresh portion). The man

who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.'"

In the same Vana-parva, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarna, on the west coast of the Dekhan:

*Atha Gokarnam āśādyā trishu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhye
rājendra sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | yatra Brahmādayo devā ṛishayaś cha
tapodhanāḥ |* 8169: *Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ śailā upāsanta Umā-
patim | ityādi |* "Then having reached Gokarna, renowned in the
three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where
Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity," [various
other kinds of beings are here enumerated, *Bhūtas*, *Yaras*, etc.
etc.], "rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā
(Mahādeva)."

The same place is also mentioned in the Vana-parva, v. 15999 f.:

*Trikūṭam samatikramya Kālaparvatam eva cha | dadarśa makarāvāṣā
gambhīrodam mahodadhim | tam atityātha Gokarnam abhyagachhat
Daśānanaḥ | dayitaṁ sthānam avyagraṁ Sūlapāner mahātmaneḥ |*
"Having passed Trikūṭa, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvaṇa) saw
the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he
then approached Gokarna, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty
wielder of the trident."

[The same Tīrtha-yātrā, however, contains the following passage
celebrating Kṛishṇa:

Vana-parva, v. 8349 f.—*Puṇyā Dvāravatī tatra yatrāsau Madhusū-
danaḥ | sākād devaḥ purāṇo 'sau sa hi dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha veda-
vido viprā ye chādhyātmā-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmānam Kṛishṇam
dharmam sanātanam | pavitrāṇām hi Govindaḥ pavitram param uchya-
te | puṇyānam api puṇyo 'sau māṅgalānām cha māṅgalaṁ | trailoky-
e Puṇ-
darikāro deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avyayātmā vyayātmā cha yatrajñāḥ
paramēśvaraḥ | āste Harir achintyātmā tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ |*
"There is the holy Dvāravatī where that Madhusūdana [abides], that
manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brahmins
who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty
Kṛishṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely
pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the
blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods,
decaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of

the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides.”]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem :

Ādi-parva, v. 7049.—*Evam teshāṃ vilapatāṃ viprāṇāṃ vividhā girāḥ | Arjuno dhanuṣo 'bhyāse tasthau girir ivāchalaḥ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradaxinam athākarot | pranāmya śirasā devam Īśānaṃ varadam prabhum | Kṛishṇaṃ cha manasā kṛtvā jagrihe chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunītha-Vaktraiḥ Rādheya-Duryodhana-Salya-Salvaiḥ | tadā dhanur-veda-parair nṛṣīmhaiḥ kṛtaṃ na sayyam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi* | “While the Brahmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Īśāna (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Kṛishṇa,²¹⁷ Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunītha (Śiśupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, Salya, and Salva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark,” etc. etc.

In the Vana-parvā, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhīshma and released at the request of Yudhiṣṭhira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):

Jagāma rājan duḥkhārtto Gaṅgādvārāya Bhārata | sa devaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatvā virūpākṣam Umāpatim | tapas chachāra vipulāṃ tasya prito Vṛishadhvajah | balim evayam pratyagrihāt priyamāṇas Trilochanaḥ | varaṇ chāsmāi dadau devaḥ sa jagrāha cha tach chhriṇu | “Samastān sarathān pañcha jayeyāṃ yudhi Pāṇḍavān” | iti rājā 'bravid devaṃ neti devas tam abravīt | ajayyāṃś chāpy abadhyāṃś cha vārayishyasi tām yudhi | ṛite 'rjunam mahābāhuṃ Naraṃ nāma sureśvaram | Vadaryyāṃ tapta-tapaśaṃ Nārāyaṇa-sahāyakam | ajitāṃ sarva-lokānāṃ devair api durāsadam | mayā dattam pāśupataṃ divyam apratimaṃ śaram | avāpa lokapālebhya vajrādān sa mahāśarān | deva-devo hy anantātmā Vīṣṇuḥ sura-guruḥ prabhuḥ | pradāna-puruṣo 'cyaktaḥ viśvātmā viśva-mūrttimān | yugānta-kāle samprāpte kālāgnir dahato jagat | sa-parcatārṇava-dvīpaṃ sa-śaila-vana-kāṇanam |

“He went, o king, distressed with grief, to Gaṅgādvāra (Haridvāra).

²¹⁷ Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i. 646) regards this reference to Kṛishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.

There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāṇdavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāśupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Puruṣa), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests.' Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Santi-parva also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādāna, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (*toṣhayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśuramā chāti-tejasam | sa tenākunṭha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-varchasā | kuthāreṇā-prameyeṇa lokeshv apratimo bhavat |*). Then follows the story of Kārttavīrya.

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhisthira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājāsūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Kṛishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parva, v. 626.—*Na tu śakyaṃ Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale | rājāsūyaṃ teṣā vāptum eṣhā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhā hī rāja-*

naḥ sarco jīvā Girivraje | kandaro parvatendrasya sīṁheneva mahā-dvipāḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāsandho yiyaxur vasudhādhipaiḥ | Mahādevam mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasogrena nīrjitās tena pārvthivāḥ | pratijñāyās cha pāraṁ sa gataḥ pārvthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi nīrjitya nīrjitya pārvthivān prītanāgatān | puram ānīya baddhvā cha chakāra puruṣa-vrajam | vyaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayāt tadā | Mathurām samparityajya gatā Dvāravatīm purīm |

"But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings as victims, and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too," (confesses Kṛishṇa) "from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī."

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāsandha's cruelty to the kings:

Sabhā-parva, v. 653.—*Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarāsandham upāsate | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitaḥ | mūrdhābhishiktaṁ nīpatim pradhāna-puruṣo balāt | ādatte na cha no drishṭo 'bhāgaḥ puruṣataḥ kvachit | evaṁ sarvān vaśe chakre Jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān | taṁ durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | proxitānām pramrīṣṭānām²¹⁸ rājānām Paśupater grihe | paśūnām ivā kā prītir jīvite Bharat-arshabha |* "For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and no mortal that we see is more wretched than such a man. In this manner Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been devoted to slaughter and designated as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

²¹⁸ The commentator's remark on this is as follows: *Pramrīṣṭānām | Rudra-dai-atyo 'yam iti pratyekam abhīmṛīṣṭānām |*

liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Krishna, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshattriya, to-day release them from fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parva; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rāxasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715) and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed, who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rāxasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

*Jarā-nāmā 'smi bhadrām te Rāxasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tava veśmanī rājen-
dra pūjitā nyavasāṁ sukhāṁ | grihe grihe manushyānām nityaṁ tishṭhāmi
rāxasī | griha-devitī nāmnā vai purā śṛiṣṭā Svayambhuvā | dānavānām
vināśāya sthāpitā divya-rūpiṇī | yo mām bhaktyā likhet kundye saputtrām
yauvanānvitām | grihe tasya bhaved vṛiddhir anyathā yayam āpnuyāt |
tead-grihe tishṭhamānā tu pūjitā 'ham sadā vibho | likhitā chaiva kundye
'ham putrair bahubhir āvṛitā | gandha-pushpais tathā dhūpair bhāgyair
bhojyaiḥ supūjitā | sā'ham pratyupakārārtham chintayamy anīṣam tava |
tame puttra-śakale dṛiṣṭavaty asmi dhārmika | saṁśleshite mayā daivāt
kumārah samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātram aham te
iha | Meruṁ vā khādituṁ śaktā kim punas tava bālakam | griha-sampū-
janāt tushṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |*

"I am, bless thee, a Rāxasī named Jarā, who can change my shape at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, o king, and continually revered, painted upon

the wall, surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, o great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rāxasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy *Jarāsandha* because he had been put together (*sandhitah*) by the Rāxasī *Jarā* (v. 738: *Ājñāpayach cha rāxasyā Magadhesu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroch chaiva Pitāmaha-samah pitā | Jarayā sandhito yasmāḥ Jarāsandho bhavate ayam |*). The rishi Chanḍakaushika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753: *Esha Rudram Mahādevam tripurānta-karam Haram | sarva-lokeshe atibalo sākād dṛश्यati Māgadhaḥ |*).

The description here given by the Rāxasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishtira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Krishna; and this legendary narrative may perhaps be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishnu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of Śiśupāla, which has been given above (pp. 171 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Krishna's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who, on this point at least, took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Śiśupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and according to Lassen,²²⁰ a representative of the Śaiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Krishna was, as I have already

²²⁰ See above, p. 176, note 160.

noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karna, and Salva, (pp. 180, 182, 184, 185, etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 240, note 216) to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishnu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parva, 15274 ff., Karna, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Râjasûya sacrifice. Karna replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Râjasûya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishtira lives, and while his own father, Dhritarâshtra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

*Asi te anyad mahat satraṁ râjasûya-samam prabho | tena tvam yaja
râjendra śrinu chedaṁ vacho mama | ye ime prithivī-pālāḥ kara-dās tava
pārthiva | te karāṁ samprayachchantu suvarṇaṁcha kṛitākṛitam | tena te
kriyatām adya lāṅgalāṁ nṛipa-sattama | yajña-vāṭasya te bhūmiḥ
kṛishyatām tena Bhārata | tatra yajño nṛipa-śreshṭha prabhūtānnaḥ
susamskṛitah | pravarttatām yathānyāyām sarvato hy anivāritaḥ | esha te
Vaishṇavo nāma yajñah satpurushochitah | etena neshtavān kaśchid ṛite
Vishṇum purātanam | rāja-sūyam kratu-śreshṭham sparddhaty esha
mahākratuḥ |* "But there is another great ceremonial equal to the
râjasûya, with which, o great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this
which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries
present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and un-
wrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the
ground of thy sacrificial enclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice,
well-arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will
be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishnava sacrifice
(the sacrifice of Vishnu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men.²²¹
With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishnu. This great
ceremonial rivals the râjasûya, the most excellent of sacrifices."

²²¹ It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some ill-natured persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhishtira's Rājasya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātṛi, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): *Apere te abruvans tatra vātikā tam mahipatim | Yudhishtīrasya yajñena na some hy eka te kratuh | naiva tasya krator eka (P) kalām arhati shodāṣṭim | evaṁ tatrābruvan kecid vātikā tam jameśvaram | subhīdā te abruvans tatra atī sarvān ayaṁ kratur ityādi |*

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karna-parva, quoted above, pp. 187 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Vishnu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rākshasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (Sānti-parva, 1414-1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samantapanchaka.²²³

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that "the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra-, or Siva-worship, and the Pandus or Panchālas of the Indra- (?) or Vishnu-worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parva, (where Krishna is

²²³ Salya-parva, 3619. See both passages translated in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other passage in the Mahābhārata in which the connection of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana's connexion with him. Possibly such passages may have existed, and have been struck out as dangerous to the cause of Brahmanical orthodoxy.

describing to Yudhishtira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Viṣṇu, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

Jarāsandhaṁ gatas tv eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | Purushottama-vijñāto yo 'sau Chediṣhu durmatih | ātmānam pratijānāti loka 'smin Purushottamam | ādatte satatam mohād yaḥ sa chihnaṁ cha māmakam | Vāṅga-Puṇḍra-Kirāteshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ | Pauṇḍrako Vāsudeveti yo 'sau loka 'bhiviśrutaḥ | “And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—he who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Puṇdras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Puṇdras.”²²³

²²³ On this Lassen remarks (i. 608): “Since these (Purushottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Viṣṇu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Viṣṇu.”

CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHADEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC
HYMNS, AND THE BRAHMANAS.

IN the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Krishna's character, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus found it necessary to anticipate much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representation which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—*Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

IN the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R. V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—*Jarābodhā tad viriḍḍhi viśe viśe yajñīyāya stomaṁ rudrāya dṛiṣikam* | “Thou who art skilled in

praise, utter therefore for every tribe, a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni)." In connection with this verse, Yāska remarks :

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—*Agnir api rudra uchyate | tasyaishā bhavati . . . jarā stutiḥ | jarateḥ stuti-karmaṇaḥ | tām bodha tayā bodhayitar iti vā | tad vividhī tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanāya stomaṁ Rudrāya darśanīyam* | "Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse (the one before us). *Jarā* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarābodha*. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a slightly hymn for the terrible." Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that *rudra* in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole *tricha* or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R. V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R. V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Aśvins, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatīrtha the following short *itihāsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agniḥ stūyamānaḥ Sunahśephā uvācha "Rudraṁ stūhi raudrā hi paśavaḥ" iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha "nāhaṁ jānāmi Rudraṁ stotum tvam evaitaṁ stūhi" iti tad idam uchyate "He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru" ityādi* | "Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sunahśepa, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (Sunahśepa) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'"

R. V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrāya prachetase mīḥhushṭamāya tavyase | vochema śantamaṁ hride* | 2. *Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśve nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam* | 3. *Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudraś chiketati | yathā viśve sajośasaḥ* | 4. *Gātha-patim medha-patiṁ Rudraṁ jalāsha-bheshajam | tat śamyoh sumnam imahe* | 5. *Yah śukra iva sūryo hiranyam iva rochate | śreshṭho devānām vasuḥ* | 6. *Saṁ naḥ karaty arvate sugam meshāya meshye | nṛibhyo nāribhyo gave* | "What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who

protection, defence, shelter. 6. This magnifying hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, o immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men, nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our warriors in thine anger: we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. Like a keeper of cattle I have prepared for thee hymns: bestow on us your favour, o father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy sympathy be with us. Be gracious to us, o god, and intercede for us, and bestow on us prosperity, lord of both worlds. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, grant us this."

In Sāyana's annotations on the 6th verse, he quotes the following modern story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

Rudrasya Marutām pitritvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāchid Indro 'surān jigāya | tadānīm Ditiḥ Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham putrām kāmayaṁānā tapasā bharttuḥ sakāśād garbhām lebhhe | imāṁ vṛttāntam avagachchann Indro vajra-hastaḥ san sūzma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyā udaram praviśya tam garbhām saptadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikāṁ sapta-khaṇḍam akarot | te sarve garbhaika-deśā yoner nirgatyārudan | etasminn avasare līlārtham gachchantau Pārvatī-parameśvarāv imān da-dṛśatuḥ | Maheśam prati Pārvatī evam avochat | "ime māmśa-khaṇḍā yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantām evaṁ tvayā kāryyam mayi chet prītiḥ asti" iti | sa cha Maheśvaras tām samāna-rūpān samāna-rayasāḥ samānālāṅkārān putrān kṛtvā Gauryyai pradadau "taveme putrāḥ santo" iti | ataḥ sarveshu Māruteshu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrā iti stūyante Raudreshu cha Marutām pitā Rudra iti |

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able

to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her foetus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being parts of the foetus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara, 'If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally sons.' Maheśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, 'Let these be thy sons.' Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts, they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he is praised as the father of the Maruts."

R. V. i. 122, 1.—*Pra vah pāntām raghu-manyavo 'ndho yajñām Rudrāya mīlhushe bharadvam | divo astoshi asurasya vīrair ishudhya iva Maruto rodasyoh |* "Present, ye mild-tempered priests, to the bountiful Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. The praise of the divine Marut is celebrated in heaven and earth."

R. V. i. 129, 3.—*Dasmo hi śhmā vṛishaṇam pīnvāsi tvachām kaṁ chid yāvitr ararum śūra marttyam parivṛinaxi marttyam | Indrota tubhyaṁ tad dīve tad Rudrāya sva-yāsase | Mitrāya vochaṁ Varuṇāya sapra-thaḥ sumṛīkāya saprathaḥ |* "Thou, who art energetic, causest the teeming skin (the cloud) to be expanded: thou, hero, hast chased away every hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have uttered this at length to thee, and to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuṇa, at length to the very bountiful."

R. V. ii. 1, 6.—*Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvam śardho mārutam prixa īśishe | tvam vātair aruṇair yāsi śaṁgayas tvam Pūshā vidhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā |* "Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the deity (*asura*) of the great sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord of the sacrificial food. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee."

See above (p. 66) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishṇu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pūshan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7.

Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra :

Rud duḥkham duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādih | tasya drāvayitā etan-nāmako devo'si | "Rudro vā esha yad Agnir" ity ādisho Agneḥ Rudra-śabdena vyavahārāt | *yadvā teṣā Rudraḥ | rauti | mām anishṭvā narā duḥkṣa patishyanti | Rudras tādriśo'si |* "Rut means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou art the god so called, who drives this away (*Rud-drāvayitā*) ; for Agni is commonly expressed by the word Rudra in such passages as this, 'He who is Agni is Rudra.' Or, thou art Rudra. He cries. Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra," etc.

R. V. ii. 33, 1 ff.—*Ā te pitar Marutām sumnam etu mā naḥ vīryasya saṁdriśo guyothāḥ | abhi no viro arcati xameta prajāyemahi Rudra prajābhīḥ |* 2. *Tvā-dattebhi Rudra saṁtamebhiḥ śataṁ himā aśiya bhesajebhiḥ | vi asmad dvesho vitarāṁ vi aṁho vi amivās chātayastā vishūchiḥ |* 3. *S'reshṭho jātasya Rudra śriyā'si tavastamas tavastāṁ vajra-bāho | parshi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ svasti viśvā abhītiḥ rapaso guyodhi |* 4. *Mā tvā Rudra chukrudhāmā namobhir mā dushṭutī vṛishabha mā sahūti | ud no vīrān arpayā bhesajebhir bhishaktamāṁ tvā bhishajām śrinomi |* 5. *Havimabhir havate yo havirbhir ava stomebhi Rudraṁ dishīya | ridūdarāḥ suhavo mā no asyai babhruḥ suśipro riradhad manāyai |* 6. *Ud mā mamanda vṛishabho marutvān tvaxīyasā vayasā nādhamānam | ghrīṇīva chhāyām arapā aśiya ā vivāseyaṁ Rudrasya sumnam |* 7. *Kea sya te Rudra mṛīlayākur hasto yo asti bhesajō jalāśhaḥ | apabharttā rapaso daivyasya abhi nu mā vṛishabha chaxamithāḥ |* 8. *Pra babhrave vṛishabhāya śvītiche maho mahīm sushṭutim īrayāmi | namasyā kalmāṭikinaṁ namobhir ghrīṇimasi tveshaṁ Rudrasya nāma²²⁵ |* 9. *Sthirebhir aṅgair puru-rūpa ugro babhruḥ śukrebhiḥ pipīṣe hiranyaiḥ | īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer na vā u yoshad Rudrād asuryam |* 10. *Arhan bibharshi sāyakāni dhanva arhan nishkaṁ yajataṁ viśva-rūpam | arhann idaṁ dayaso viśvam abhvaṁ na vā ojiyo Rudrā tvaḥ asti |* 11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40). *Stuhi śrutaṁ gartta-sadeṁ yuvānam mrigaṁ na bhīmam²²⁶ upahatnum ugram | mṛīḷā jaritro Rudra stavāno anyāṁ te asmad ni vapantu senāḥ |* 12. *Kumārā*

²²⁵ Compare R. V. vii. 100, 3, above, p. 76.

²²⁶ Compare above similar modes of speaking about Vishnu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., p. 59.

*chit pitarañ vandamānam prati nānāma Rudra upayantam | bhūrer
dātārañ satpatiñ grīṇiṣhe stutas tvam bhesajā rāsi asme | 13. Yā
vo bhesajā Marutaḥ śuchāni yā śāntamā vṛishano yā mayobhu | yāni
Manur avṛiṇītā pitā nas tā śaṁ cha yoścha Rudrasya vaśmi | 14 (V. S.
16, 50). Pari no hetih Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ pari tveshasya durmatir mahi
gāt | ava sthirā maghavadbhyas tanusva mīdhvas tokāya tanayāya
mrīḷa | 15. Evā babhro vṛishabha chekitāna yathā deva na hrīṇiṣhe na
hañsi | havana-śruḍ no Rudra iha bodhi bṛihad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ |*

“1. Father of the Maruts, may kindness come from thee: remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and sin, and divers diseases. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, o wielder of the thunderbolt. Thou carriest us happily across our sin: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies: I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns propitiate that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god] attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with invigorating nourishment. May I free from injury obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade from the heat [of the summer]: may I seek the favour of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative, removing the evil which comes from the gods? Forgive me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I send forth an exceedingly great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, fair-complexioned god. Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. Firm of limb, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been invested with bright golden ornaments.²²⁷ Divine power is ever inseparable from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, governing, holdest arrows and a bow; governing, thou [holdest] a glorious bracelet of every form. Governing, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful

²²⁷ See *śukra-piś*, Nir. viii. 11 = R. V. x. 110, 6; and Roth Erl.

god, mounted on his chariot, like a terrible wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised : may thy hosts destroy some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] o Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of the excellent. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are auspicious, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu wished—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the fiery [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong bows [so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. Tawny and vigorous, intelligent god, Rudra, listen to our invocations in such wise, that thou neither frownest at us, nor injurest us; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—*Dyāvo na strībhīś chitayanta khādino vi abhriyā na dyutayanta vṛiṣṭayaḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vayasa vṛiṣṭāṇi pṛiṣṇyāḥ śukra ūdhani |* "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, o Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Pṛiṣni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—*Na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vṛatam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ | na arātayas tam idam svasti huve devaṁ Savitāraṁ namobhiḥ |* "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛi, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—*Agniṁ sumnāya dadhire puro jānā vāja-śravasam iha vrikta-barhishaḥ | yata-sruchaḥ suruchaṁ viśva-devyaṁ rudraṁ yajñānām sādhad-ishṭim apasām |* "Men, having spread the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his favour, placed in their front Agni, the bestower of food, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (rudra), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—*Ā vo rājānam adhvarasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satya-yajam rodasyoḥ | Agniṁ purā tanayitnor achittād hiranya-rūpam avase krām |* 6. *Kad dhishnyāsu vridhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratarase*

śubhañye | pariṃmane nāsatyāya xe bravaḥ kad Agne Rudrāya nṛi-ghne | 7. (quoted above, pp. 67, 68). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] un-awares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*) king of the sacrifice, the invoker of both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. How, Agni, wilt thou, who growest in the 'places of oblation, how wilt thou declare [our sin] to Vāta, the energetic, the bestower of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful, how wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

R. V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, pp. 68, 69.

R. V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuṇo Aryamā 'yur Indra Ribhuxā Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā ye dadhate svriktiṃ stomaṃ Rudrāya mīlhushe sajoshāḥ |* "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhuxan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra."

R. V. v. 42, 11.—*Tam u śtūhi yaḥ vishuḥ sudhanvā yo viśvasya xayati bheshajasya | yavā mahe saumanasāya Rudraṃ namobhir devam asuraṃ duvasya |* 15. *Esha stoma mārutaṃ śardho achhā Rudrasya sūnūn yuvanyūn ud aśyāḥ | ityādi |* "Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain his] great benevolence: with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. . . . 15. May this hymn reach the troop of Maruts, and ascend to the youthful sons of Rudra," etc. etc.

R. V. v. 46, 2 (V. S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 69.

R. V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśve devā no adya svastaye vaiśvānaro vasur²²⁸ Agniḥ svastaye | devā avantu Ribhavaḥ svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu aṃhasaḥ |* "May all the gods, may Agni the *Vasu* common to all men, may the divine Ribhus preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from sin."

R. V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra ye me bandhveshe gāṃ vachanta sūrayaḥ priśniṃ vachanta mātaram | adhā pītaram ishminiṃ Rudraṃ vachanta śikvasaḥ |* "These wise and powerful [Maruts] who, when I was seeking with my friends, declared to me that the Earth, Priśni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father."

R. V. v. 59, 8.—*Mimātu dyaur Aditir vitaye naḥ saṃ dānu-chitra ushaso yatatām | āchuchyavur divyaṃ koṣam ete riṣhe Rudrasya Maruto*

²²⁸ See Nirukta, vii. 22 ff.; and xii. 41, 42.

grinānāḥ | "May the Sky and Aditi work for our enjoyment: may the dawns glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, o rishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down."

R. V. v. 60, 5.—*Ajyeshthāso akanishthāsa ete sam bhrātaro vāṛidhuḥ saubhagāya* | *yuvā pitā svapā Rudra eshām sudughā Prīśniḥ sudinā Marudbhyah* | "These brothers (the Maruts) among whom there is no distinction of elder and younger, have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Prīśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts."

R. V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugra iva śarya-hā tigma-śringo na vaṁsa-gaḥ* | *Agne puro rurojitha* | "Thou, Agni, who art fierce (*ugra*), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down cities."

On this the commentator remarks: "*Rudro vā esha yad Agnir*" *iti śruteḥ* | *Rudra-kṛitam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kṛitam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate* | "For the Veda says that 'this Agni is Rudra.' It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni." Another explanation is that Agni was present in Rudra's arrow on that occasion.

R. V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajāvatīḥ sūyavaśāṁ rīśantiḥ śuddhā apaḥ suprapāṇo pibantiḥ* | *mā vaḥ stena īśata mā 'ghaśaṁsaḥ pari vo hēti Rudrasya vṛjyāḥ* | "Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you."

R. V. vi. 49, 10.—*Bhuvanasya pītaraṁ gīrbhir ābhī Rudraṁ divā vārdhayā Rudraṁ aktau* | *bṛihantam rīshvam ajaraṁ sushumnam rīdhag hūvema kavīneshitāsaḥ* | "Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, specially invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the blessed."

R. V. vi. 50, 4.—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namantām adyā hutāso Vāsavo adhṛīshṭāḥ* | *ityādi* | 12. (quoted above, p. 71). "May the sons of Rudra, may the irresistible Vasus, invoked to-day, stoop down to us," etc. . . . 12. (translated above, p. 71).

R. V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mīlhushaḥ santi putrāḥ yāmś cho nu dādhrivir bharadhyai* | *vide hi mātā maho mahī shā sā it Prīśniḥ subhvo garbham ādhāt* | . . . 11. *Tam vṛidhantam mārutam bhrājad-ṛīshṭīm*

Rudrasya sūnuṃ havasā ā vivāse | ityādi |—"those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Pṛisni was pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra," etc.

R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—*Somā-Rudrā dhārayethām asuryam pra vām iṣṭāyo 'ram aśnucantu | dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā śaṃ no bhūtaṃ dvipade śaṃ chatuṣpade |* 2. (A. V. 7, 42, 1) *Somā-Rudrā vi vṛihataṃ viśhūchīm amīvā yā no gayam āviveśa | āre bādhothām Nirritim parāchair asme bhadrā sauśravasāni santu |* 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). *Somā-Rudrā yuvam etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bhesajāni dhattam | ava syatam muñchataṃ yad no asti tanūshu baddhaṃ kṛitam eno asmat |* 4. *Tigmā-yudhau tigma-heti suśevau Somā-Rudrāv iha su mṛīlataṃ naḥ | pra no muñchataṃ Varuṇasya pāśād gopāyataṃ naḥ sumanasyamānā |* "Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you. In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive away that hostile disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirriti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour."

R. V. vii. 10, 4.—*Indraṃ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajoshā Rudraṃ Rudrebhir ā vahā brihantam | Ādityebhir Aditiṃ viśva-janyām Brihaspatim rikcābhir viśva-vāram |* "Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra, with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Brihaspati who grants all boons."

R. V. vii. 35, 6.—. . . . *Śaṃ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāshaḥ* "may the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us," etc.

R. V. vii. 36, 5.—*Yajante asya sakhyam vayas cha namasvinah sve ritasya dhāman | vi prixo bābadhe nṛibhiḥ stavāna idam namo Rudrāya preshṭham |* "Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has

distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra."

R. V. vii. 40, 5. (quoted and translated above, pp. 73, 74).

R. V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—*Prātar Agnim prātar Indraṁ havāmahe prātar Mitṛā-Varuṇā prātar Aśvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim prātaḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huvema |* "In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuṇa, in the morning the Aśvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, Soma, and Rudra."

R. V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—*Imā Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane girāḥ xipreshave devāya svadhāvrne*²²⁹ | *ashālḥāya sahamānāya vedhase tigmā-yudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ |* 2. *Sa hi xayena xamyasya janmanah sāmraḥyena divyasya chetati | avam avantir upa no duras chara anamivo Rudra jāsu no bhava |* 3 (Nirukta, x. 7).—*Yā te didyud avasṛishṭā divas pari xmayā charati pari sā vṛiṇaktu naḥ | sahasraṁ te svapivāta bhesajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu rīrishah |* 4. *Mā no vadhi Rudra mā parā dā mā te bhūma prasitau hīlitasya | ā no bhaja barhishi jīva-sāmse yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |* "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. By his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and by his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Place us on the sacrificial carpet destined for the tribe of the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R. V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433).—*Ke iṁ vyaktā narah sanīlā Rudrasya maryāḥ adhā svasvāḥ |* 2. *Nakir hi eshām janūmshī veda te anga vidre mitho janitram |* "Who are these visible heroes, the sons of Rudra,

²²⁹ Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 135) considers the word *svadhāvat* to signify "independent," "whose glory is inherent," etc., and refers to R. V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illust. Roth assigns to *svadhā* the sense of "according to one's own determination," "according to pleasure," and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R. V. i. 6, 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7.

occupying the same abode, possessing excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R. V. vii. 58, 5.—*Tān ā Rudrasya mīlhuso vivāse ityādi* | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

R. V. viii. 13, 20.—*Tad id Rudrasya chetati yāhvam prātneshu dhāmasu | mano yatrā vi tad dadhur vichetasah* | "That [worship] the offspring of Rudra perceive in their ancient abodes, and on it these wise deities have therefore fixed their minds."

R. V. viii. 20, 17.—*Yathā Rudrasya sūnavo divo vaśanti asurasya vedhasah | yuvānas tathā it asat* | "As the wise and youthful sons of Rudra the deity of the sky desire, so shall it be."

R. V. viii. 22, 13.— . . . *Tū u namobhir īmahe* | 14. *Tāv id doshā tāv ushasi śubhas pati tā yāman rudra-varṭtanī* | ²³⁰ *mā no marttāya rīpave vājīnī-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam* | "We invoke them (the Aśvins) with adoration (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, o terrible (*rudrau*) lords of wealth, abandon us to our mortal enemy."

R. V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 79).

R. V. viii. 61, 3.—*Antar ichhanti taṁ jane rudram paro manīshayā | gribhñanti jihvayā sasam* | "They entreat the god who is terrible (*rudra*) beyond all thought, to enter among the people. With their tongues they take food."

R. V. x. 64, 8.—*Triḥ sapta saśrā nadyo mahīr apo vanaspatīn parvātān Agnim ūtaye | Kṛśānum astrīn Tishyām sadhasṭhe ā Rudrām Rudreshu rudriyām havāmahe* | We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛśānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, terrible among the Rudras."

R. V. x. 65, 1. (quoted and translated above, p. 82).

R. V. x. 66, 3.—*Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yachhatu | Rudro Rudrebhir devo mṛilayāti nas Tvashṭā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jinvatu* | "May Indra with the Vasus protect our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the

²³⁰ This word *rudra-varṭtanī* is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R. V. x. 39, 11.

divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Vṛashtṛi with his wives bless us for our welfare."

R. V. x. 92, 5.—*Pra Rudreṇa yayinā yanti sindhavas tiro mahim aramatiṁ dadhantire | yebhiḥ parijmā pariyaṇṇ uru jṛayo vi rorasoḥ jaḥṣare viśvam uzate | . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo adya Rudrāya śikvaṁ xayad-virāya namasā didiṣṭana | yebhiḥ śivaḥ svavān evayāvabhīr divaḥ sishakti eva-yaśā nikāmahhiḥ |* "The waters flow [impelled] by the moving Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, roaring god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], fertilizes all contained in its womb. . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, comes down from the sky."

R. V. x. 93, 4.—*Te ghā rājāno amṛitasya mandrā Aryamā Mitro Varuṇaḥ parijmā | kaḍ Rudro nṛiṇāṁ stuto Marutaḥ Pūṣaṇo Bhagaḥ | . . . 7. Uta no rudrā chid mṛiḷatām Aśvinā ityādi |* "These are the kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa the circumambient, Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pūṣans, and Bhaga. . . . 7. May the terrible (rudra) Aśvins be favourable to us," etc.

R. V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—*Ahaṁ Rudrāy adhanur ā tanomi brahma-dviṣo śarave hantavā u ityādi |* (Vāc speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R. V. x. 126, 5.—*. . . Ugram Marudbhī Rudraṁ huveṃa ityādi |* "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R. V. x. 126, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—*Keśi agniṁ keśi viśvaṁ keśi bibharti rodasi | keśi viśvaṁ svar dṛiṣe²⁵¹ keśi idam jyotir uchyate | . . . 7. Vāyur asmā upāmanthat pinashṭi smā kunannamā | keśi viśvasya pātreyā yaḍ Rudreṇāpiḅat saha |* "The long haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he beholds the entire sky; he is called this light. . . . 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (viśva) which he drank along with Rudra."

Prof. Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 164) understands the *keśin* or "long-haired being" who is the subject of the hymn, to be an un-

²⁵¹ *Keśi idam saram idam abhivipasyati |* —Nir. xii. 26.

shorn ascetic, who by his austerities has gained supernatural powers, and placed himself upon a level with the gods, and refers to R. V. vii. 56, 8. In his Lexicon, however, Roth refers to *keśin* as an epithet of Rudra in Atharva-veda, xi. 2, 18 (to be quoted below), with which he also compares the present passage. Yāska understands *keśin* of the Sun whose locks are rays. The allusion in the 7th verse to Rudra drinking water (*viśha*) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking poison (*viśha*).—See above, p. 43.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—*Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ūrjasvatir oshadhir āriśāntām | pīvasvatir jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasāya padvate*²³² *Rudra mṛiḥ* | “May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink, being fat and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our moving sources of food.”

SECT. II.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-veda.*

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—*Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā taṁ jushasva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhāga ākhus te paśuḥ* | 58. *Ava Rudram adīmahy ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śreyasas karad yathā no vyavasāyayāt* | 59. *Bheshajam asi beshajam gave 'śvāya purushāya beshajam | sukhā meshāya meshyai* | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12). *Tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim pushti-vardhanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād mṛityor muktīya mā'mṛitāt | tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād ito muktīya mā'mutaḥ* | 61. *Etat te Rudra avasām tena paro Mūjavato atihī | avatata-dhanvā pinākāvasaḥ kṛitti-vāsā ahimsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi* | 62. *Tryāyusham Jamadagneḥ Kaśyapasya tryāyusham | yad deveshu tryāyusham tad no astu tryāyusham* | 63. *Śivo nāmāsi svadhitis te pitā namas te astu mā mā himsiḥ | nivartayāmy āyushe annādyāya prajananāya rāyas-poshāya suprajastvāya suvīryāya* |

“This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with

²³² *Padvad avasām gāvaḥ* | —Nir. i. 17.

favour, may it be fortunate (*svāhā*). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. Let us satisfy Rudra; let us satisfy the god Tryambaka,²³³ that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of fatness. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from death, not from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who causes us to find our husbands. Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not from that. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, with thy goad slackened, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.²³⁴ 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (*śiva*) by name; a thunder-bolt [or an axe] is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I empower thee [o sacrificer] to obtain life, food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess."²³⁵

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Satarudriya, a prayer the holiness and efficacy of which are celebrated in two passages quoted above (pp. 162 and 167) from the Mahābhārata (see also p. 155).

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xvi. 1 ff.—*Namas te Rudra manyave uto te ishavo namaḥ | bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ |* 2. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūr aghorā 'pāpa-kāśinī | tayā nas tanvā śāntamayā giriśantābhichākaśīhi |* 3. *Yām ishūm giriśanta hasto bibharshi astave | śivām giritra tām kuru mā himsīh puruṣaṁ jagat |* 4. *Śivena vachasā tvā giriśāchhā vadāmaḥ | yathā naḥ sarvaṁ ij jagad ayaxmaṁ sumanā asat |* 5. *Adkhy avochaḍ adhi-vaktā prathamō daiveyo bhishak | ahīmścha sarvān jambhayan sarvāś-*

²³³ S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—*Ambikā ha vai nāmāśya swasā | tayā 'syaiṣha saha bhūgaḥ | tad yad asyaṣha strīyā saha bhūgas tasmāt Tryambako nūma |* "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (*strī*), he is called Tryambaka" (i.e. Stryambaka).

²³⁴ See the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 364 f.

²³⁵ The commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words *nivārttayāmy āyushe*, etc., by "I shave thee for longevity," etc.

cha yātudhānyo 'dharāchīḥ parāsuva | 6. Asau yas tāmro aruṇa uta
 babhruḥ sumāṅgalaḥ | ye chainām Rudrā abhito dixu śritāḥ sahasraśo
 'vaishāṁ heda īmahe | 7. Asau yo 'vasarpati nilagrīvo vilohitaḥ | utainām
 gopā adṛīsrann adṛīsrann udahāryyaḥ sa dṛiṣṭo mṛīdayāti naḥ | 8.
 Namo 'stu nila-grivāya sahasrāxāya mīdhushe | atho ye asya satvāno
 ahaṁ tebhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ | 9. Pramuñcha dhanvanas tvam ubhayor
 ārtnyor jyām | yāścha te haste ishavaḥ parā tā bhagavo vapa | 10.
 Vījyaṁ dhanuḥ kapardīno viśalyo bāṇavān uta | aneśam asya yā
 ishava ābhur asya nishaṅgadhiḥ | 11. Yā te hetir mīdhusṭama haste
 babhūva te dhanuḥ | tayā 'smān viśvatas tvam ayazmayā pari dhruja |
 12. Pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ | atho ya ishū-
 dhis tava āre asmad nidhehi tam | 13. Avatatya dhanuḥ tvaṁ sahas-
 rāxa śateshudho | niśīrya śalyānām mukhā śivo naḥ sumanā bhava |
 14. Namas te āyudhāya anātātāya dhṛiṣṇave | ubhābhyām uta te namo
 bāhubhyām tava dhanvane | 15. (=R.V. i. 114, 7.) 16. (=R.V. i. 114, 8.)
 17. Namo hiranyabāhave senānye diśāñcha pataye namo namo vṛixebhyo
 harikeśebhyah paśūnām pataye namo namaḥ śaṣpiñjārāya trishimate
 pathinām pataye namo namo harikeśāya upavītine pushtānām pataye
 namaḥ | 18. Namo babhluśāya vyādhitine 'nnānām pataye namo Bhavasya
 hetyai jagatām pataye namo namo Rudrāya ātatāyine xetrānām pataye
 namo namaḥ sūtāya ahantyai vanānām pataye namaḥ | 19. Namo
 rohitāya sthapataye vṛixānām pataye namo namo bhucantaye vāricas-
 kṛitāya oshadhinām pataye namo namo mantriṇe vāṇijāya kazānām
 pataye namo nama uchhairghoshāya ākrandayate pattinām pataye namaḥ |
 20. Namaḥ kritsnāyatayā dhāvate satvanām pataye namo namaḥ saha-
 mānāya nivyādhine āvyādhinīnām pataye namo namo nishaṅgine kaku-
 bhāya stenānām pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya arāṇyānām
 pataye namaḥ | 21. Namo vañchate parivañchate stāyūnām pataye namo
 namo nishaṅgine ishudhimate taskarānām pataye namo namaḥ srikāyibhyo
 jighāṁsadbhyo mushnatām pataye namo namo 'simadbhyo naktam charad-
 bhyo vikṛintānām pataye namaḥ | 22. Nama ushṇīshine giricharāya
 kuluñjānām pataye namo nama ishūmadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaścha vo namo
 nama ātanvānebhyo pratidadhānebhyāścha vo namo nama āyachhadbhyo
 'syadbhyaścha vo namaḥ | 23. Viśṛijadbhyo vidhyadbhyaścha vo namo namaḥ
 svapadbhyo jāgradbhyaścha vo namo namaḥ śayānebhyā āsīnebhyāścha vo
 namo namas tiṣṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyaścha vo namaḥ | 24. Namaḥ sabhā-
 bhyah sabhāpatibhyaścha vo namo namo 'śvebhyo 'śvapatibhyaścha vo namo

nama āvyādhinibhyo vīdhyantiḥhyāścha nama nama gāṇḍībhyo gāṇḍīpatibhyāścha to nama nama vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyāścha to nama nama grītebhyo grītapatibhyāścha to nama nama virūpebhyo vīśvarūpebhyāścha to namaḥ | 25. Namaḥ gaṇībhyo gaṇapatibhyāścha to nama nama vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyāścha to nama nama grītebhyo grītapatibhyāścha to nama nama virūpebhyo vīśvarūpebhyāścha to namaḥ | 26. Namaḥ senābhyāḥ senānibhyāścha to nama nama rāṭhībhyo 'rāṭhebhyāścha to nama namaḥ zattrībhyāḥ saṅgrahītribhyāścha to nama nama mahādībhyo arāṭhebhyāścha to namaḥ | 27. Namah tazābhyo rathakāreḥhyāścha to nama namaḥ kulālebhyaḥ karmāreḥhyāścha to nama nama nishādēbhyaḥ pūjishṭhebhyaḥ cha to nama namaḥ ścanībhyo nṛigayudhyāścha to namaḥ | 28. Namaḥ śvabhyāḥ śvapātibhyāścha nama Bhavāya Rudrāya cha namaḥ Sarvāya cha Paśupataye cha nama nilagricaya cha śitikanṭhāya cha | 29. Namaḥ kaparddine cha vyūpta-keśāya cha namaḥ sahasrārāya cha śatadhanvane cha nama girīśayāya cha śipivishṭāya cha nama mīghkuṣṭamāya cheshumate cha | 30. Nama hravāya cha vāmanāya cha nama bṛihate varshīyase cha nama vṛiddhāya cha saevīdhe cha nama 'gryāya prathamāya cha | 31. Nama āśave chājirāya cha namaḥ śighrāya cha śibhyāya cha nama ārmayāya chāvasanyāya cha nama nādeyāya cha dvīpyāya cha | 32. Nama jyeshṭhāya cha kanishṭhāya cha namaḥ parvajāya chāparajāya cha nama madhyamāya chāpagalbhāya nama joghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha | 33. Namaḥ sobhyāya cha pratisaryāya cha nama yāmyāya cha xemyāya cha namaḥ ślokyāya chāvasānyāya cha nama urvaryāya cha khalyāya cha | 34. Nama vanyāya cha kazyāya cha namaḥ śravāya cha pratisravāya cha nama āśushenāya chāśuratāya cha namaḥ śārāya chāvabhedīne cha | 35. Nama bilmine cha kavachīne cha nama varmīne cha varāthīne cha namaḥ śrutāya cha śrutasenāya cha nama dundubhyāya chāhananyāya cha | 36. Nama dhṛishṇave cha pramṛīśāya cha nama nishāṅgīne cheshudhimate cha namaḥ tīrṇeshave chāyudhīne cha namaḥ svāyudhāya sudhanvane cha | 37. Namaḥ śrutāya cha pathyāya cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kulyāya cha sarasyāya cha nama nādeyāya cha vaiśantāya cha | 38. Namaḥ kūpyāya chāvatyāya cha nama vidhryāya chātapyāya nama meghyāya cha vidyutyāya cha nama varshyāya chāvarshyāya cha | 39. Nama vātyāya cha reshmyāya cha nama vāstavyāya cha vāstupāya cha namaḥ Somāya cha Rudrāya (?) namaḥ tāmṛāya chārūpāya cha | 40. Namaḥ śaṅgave paśupataye cha nama ugrāya cha bhīmāya cha nama agrevadhāya cha dūreśadhāya cha nama hantre cha hanīyase cha nama vṛicebhyo hari-keśebhyo namaḥ tārāya | 41. Namaḥ śambhavāya cha mayobhavāya cha namaḥ

śaṅkarāya cha mayaskarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatarāya cha | 42. *Namaḥ pāryāya chāvāryāya cha namaḥ prataranāya chottaranāya cha*
namas tirthyāya cha kūlyāya cha namaḥ śaṣṭhyāya phenyāya cha | 43. *Namaḥ sikatyāya cha pracāhyāya cha namaḥ kiṁśilāya cha xayānāya*
cha namaḥ kaparddine cha pulastaye (?) nama irinyāya cha prapathyāya
cha | 44. *Namo vrajyāya cha gosṭhyāya cha namas talpyāya cha geh-*
yāya cha namo hridayyāya cha niveshyāya cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha
gahvaresṭhāya cha | 45. *Namaḥ śuṣṭhyāya cha harityāya cha namaḥ*
pāṁsavyāya cha rajasyāya cha namo lopyāya cha ulapyāya cha nama
ūrvyāya cha sūrvyāya cha | 46. *Namaḥ parvāya cha parṇasādāya cha*
nama udguramānāya chābhīghnate cha nama ākṛhidate cha prakṛhidate cha
nama iṣhukṛidbhyo dhanushkṛidbhyas cha vo namo namo vaḥ kirikebhyo
devānām hṛidayebhyo namo vichinvatkebhyo namo vixiṇatkebhyo nama
ānirhatebhyah | 47. *Drāpe andhasaspate daridra nīlaloḥita | āsām pra-*
jānām eṣhām paśūnām mā bher mā roṇ mo cha naḥ kiṁchanāmamat |
 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūḥ śivā viśvāhā*
bhesajī | śivā rutasya bhesajī tayā no mṛiḍa jīvase | 50. (=R. V. ii.
 33, 14.²³⁰) 51. *Miḍhusṭama śivatama śivo naḥ sumanā bhava | parame*
vrize āyudhaṁ nidhāya kṛittim vasāna āchara pinākam biḥhrad āgahi |
 52. *Vikṛidra vilohita namas te astu bhagavaḥ | yās te sahasraṁ hetayo*
'nyam asmaḍ nivapantu tāḥ | 53. *Sahasrāṇi sahasraśo bāhvoḥ tava keta-*
yah | tāsām iśāno bhagavaḥ parāchīnā mukhā kṛidhi | 54. *Asaṅkhyātā*
sahasrāṇi ye Rudrā adhi bhūmyām | teshām sahasra-yojane ava dhancvāni
tanmasi | 55. *Asmin mahaty arṇave antarize Bhavā adhi | teshām ityādi* |
 56. *Nilagrīvāḥ śitikanṭhā divaṁ Rudrā upāśritāḥ | teshām ityādi* |
 57. *Nilagrīvāḥ śitikanṭhāḥ śarvāḥ adhaḥ xamācharāḥ | teshām ityādi* |
 58. *Ye vrixeshu śaṣṭipīṅjarā nilagrīvā vilohitāḥ | teshām ityādi* |
 59. *Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kaparddinaḥ | teshām ityādi* |
 60. *Ye pathām pathiraxasaḥ ailaḥṛidā āyuryudhaḥ | teshām ityādi* |
 61. *Ye tirthāni pracharanti sṛikāhastā nishāṅgiṇāḥ | teshām ityādi* |
 62. *Ye anneshu vividhyanti pātreshu pibato janān | teshām ityādi* |
 63. *Ye etāvantaścha bhūyāṁsaś cha diśo Rudrā vitasthīre | teshām ityādi* |
 64. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshām varsham iṣhavaḥ | tebhyo*
daśa prācīr daśa dazīnā daśa pratīcīr daśa udīcīr daśa ūrdhvāḥ |
tebhyo namo astu te no avantu te no mṛiḍayantu te yaṁ dvishmo yaś cha

²³⁰ Instead of *mahī gāt*, the concluding words of the verse, as it stands in the R. V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has *aghāyoh*, "of the malicious."

*na divakṛti tam evāha jimbhā dadhmaṣ | 65. Namo 'stu Rudrebhya
ye anteriora yashāṁ rāṣa isharaṣ | tebhya daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu
Rudrebhya ye prithivyaṁ yashāṁ annam isharaṣ | tebhya daśa ityādi |*

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that holy body of thine which is auspicious,²²⁷ not terrible, and which does not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, o dweller in the mountains, which thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, o lord of the mountains, auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle may be healthy and cheerful. 5. May the intercessor, the first divine physician, intercede for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down and drive away all Yātudhānis (female goblins). 6. We deprecate from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water²²⁸ have seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, o divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. May his arrows perish, and his sword-sheath be empty. 11. That bow, o most bountiful, and that weapon which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, o thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the ends of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8.—See above, p. 256). 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts,²²⁹ who is yellow

²²⁷ Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 170, at the top.

²²⁸ "Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites (*Vedokta-sāṁskāra-hīnāḥ*).—Comm.

²²⁹ This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant *the lord of sacrificial victims*.

like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the fattened, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the charioteer of innoxiousness, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being that affords prosperity, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of armies who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of destroying armies, to the great wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves, to the robber, to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with arrows, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who bears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, which have excellent troops, and which are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the Vṛātas, and to you the lords of the Vṛātas, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the warriors, and to you the charioteers, to you the great and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjishthas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava, and to Rudra, and to Sarva, to Paśupati, to Nīlagrīva, and to Sītikantha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand

eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to S'ipivishta,²⁴⁰ to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to the fleet, and to the speedy, to him who dwells in billows, and in roaring waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown (?),²⁴¹ to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?),²⁴² to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmetted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the bold, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways and roads, and hollows, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, to the bringer of prosperity, to Paśupati, to the fierce (*ugra*) and the terrible, to him who kills in front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (*śaṅkarāya*), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (*śiva*) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and

²⁴⁰ R. V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 74-77.

²⁴¹ Or "to him who is unrelated." The meaning of many of these epithets is very difficult to perceive, and is not perhaps of much consequence.

²⁴² *Sobhya* seems derived from *sa-ubha*, and perhaps signifies "one who partakes of two natures."

fro (?), to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable²⁴³ places (?), to the god with braided hair, to him who stands before us (?),²⁴⁴ who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in hollows, who abides in caves, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in vaults and in deep vaults. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to the witherer of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods, to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor,²⁴⁵ who art blue and red, do not frighten, do not destroy these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50. (=R. V. ii. 33, 14.—See above, p. 260.) 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest tree, approach, clad in a skin,²⁴⁶ come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who drivest away calamity, and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (*yojana*) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those

²⁴³ Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.

²⁴⁴ *Pulastaye agre tishṭhati pulastih* | —Comm.

²⁴⁵ *Daridra*. The commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion with others, from being without a second" (*nishparigraho 'dvitīyatevā*). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by "roving about," and Prof. Weber by "splitter."

²⁴⁶ See V. S. 3, 61, above p. 268.

[deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and whose hair is braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment (?), who fight for [our?] life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, armed with arrows in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky, of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,²⁴⁷ ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc."

SECT. III.—*Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.*

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—*Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja nīla-śikhanda karma-kṛt | prāśam pratiprāśo jahi arasān kṛiṇu ośadhō* | "Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of rites, destroy the *prāśa* (? a plant), being an antidote: make them savourless, o plant!"

A. V. v. 21, 11.—*Yūyam ugrā Marutaḥ Pṛiṣni-mātara Indreṇa yujā pra mṛiṇīta śatrūn | Soma rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādeva uta mṛityur Indraḥ* | "Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Pṛiṣni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. Soma [is] a king, Varuṇa [is] a king, Indra is a great god and death."

²⁴⁷ *Prāgabhīmukhā angulīḥ kurve iti śeṣaḥ | añjalim baddhvā sarva-dīṇa namaṣ-karomi* |

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—*Yamo mṛityur aghamāro nirṛitho babhruḥ Sarvo 'stā nīla-sikhaṇḍaḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthiṣāmsas te asmākam pari vṛiñjantu vīrān |* 2. *Manasā homair harasā ghr̥itena Sarvāyāstre uta rājāne Bhavāya | namasyebhyo nama ebhyaḥ kṛiṇomy anyatrāsmad agha-vishā nayantu |* “May Yama, death, who brings dire destruction, may the tawny hell, may Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire (?), with ghee, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us.”

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Yo Agnau Rudro yo apso antar ya oshadhīr vīrudha āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākṛipe tasmai Rudrāya namo asto Agnaye |* “Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these worlds.”

A. V. viii. 2, 7.— *Bhavā-sarvau mṛidatām śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritām dhattam āyuh |* “Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.”

A. V. viii. 5. 10.—*Asmai manim varma badhnantu devā Indro Vishnuḥ Savitā Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi |* “May the gods, Indra, Vishnu, Savitṛi, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection,” etc.

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—*Mitraś cha Varuṇaś chāmsau Tvashṭā chāryamā cha doshaṇi Mahādevo bāhū |* “Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭṛi and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms.”

A. V. x. 1, 23.—*Bhavā-sarvau asyatām pāpa-kṛite kṛityākṛite dush-kṛite vidyutām deva-hetim |* “Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer.”

A. V. xi. 2, 1.—*Bhavā-Sarvau mṛidatam mā 'bhiyātam bhūta-patī paśu-patī namo vām | pratihitām āyatām mā vi srāshṭam mā no hīmsi-shṭam deipado mā chatushpadaḥ |* 2. *Sūne kroshṭre mā śarirāṇi karttam aliklavebhyo gridhrebhyo ye cha krishṇā avishyavaḥ | maxikās te Paśu-pate vayāmsi te vighase mā vidanta |* 3. *Krandāya te prāṇāya yās cha te Bhava ropayaḥ | namas te Rudra kṛiṇmaḥ sahasrāxāya amartya |* 4. *Purastāt te namaḥ kṛiṇmaḥ uttarād adharād uta | abhivargād divas pari antarixāya te namaḥ |* 5. *Mukhāya te Paśupate yāni chazūmshi te Bhava | teache rūpāya saṁdriṣe pratichināya te namaḥ |* 6. *Aṅgebhyas*

te udarāya jihvāyai āsyāya te | dadbhyo gandhāya te namaḥ | 7. *Astrē
 nila-śikhāṇḍena sahasrāṅga vājīnā | Rudrēnārdhaka-ghātinā tena mā
 samarāmahi* | 8. *Sa no Bhavaḥ pari vṛṇaktu viśvataḥ āpa irāgnīḥ pari
 vṛṇaktu no Bhavaḥ | mā no 'bhi māṁsta namo astv asmai* | 9. *Chatur
 namo aṣṭakṛitvo Bhavāya daśa kṛitcaḥ Paśupate namas te | taveṇa paś-
 cha paśavo vibhaktā gāvo āśvāḥ puruṣā ajāvayaḥ* | 10. *Tva chaturvṛ-
 pradiśas tava dyaus tava prithivī tavedam ugroro antarixam | tavedaṁ
 sarvām ātmanvad yat prānat prithivīm anu* | 11. *Uruḥ koṣo vasudhānā
 tavāyaṁ yasminn imā viśvā bhuvanāny antaḥ | sa no mṛḍa Paśupate
 namas te paraḥ kroṣṭāro abhibhāḥ śvānaḥ paro yantv agharudo vikeīyaḥ* |
 12. *Dhanur bibharshi haritaṁ hiranyayaṁ sahasra-ghnīm śata-vadheṁ
 śikhāṇḍin | Rudrasyeshuḥ charati deva-hetiḥ tasyai namo yatamasyām
 diśitaḥ* | 13. *Yo 'bhiyāto nilayate teām Rudra nichikirīshati | paśchād
 anu prayuṅxe tāṁ viddhasya pada-nīr iva* | 14. *Bhavā-rudrau sayujā
 saṁvidānāv ubhāv ugrau charato vīryāya | tābhyām namo yatamasyām
 diśitaḥ* | 15. *Namas te astv āyate namo astu parāyate | namas te Rudra
 tiṣṭhate āśināyota te namaḥ* | 16. *Namaḥ sāyaṁ namaḥ prātar namo
 rātryā namo divā | Bhavāya cha Śūrvāya cha ubhābhyām akaraṁ namaḥ* |
 17. *Sahasrāṅgam atipaśyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipaś-
 chitam | mā upārāma jihvayā iyamānam* | 18. *Śyāvāścaṁ kṛiṣṇaṁ an-
 tam mṛṇantam bhīmaṁ ratham keśinaḥ pādayantam | pūrvo pratimo
 namo astv asmai* | 19. *Mā no 'bhi srā matyaṁ deva-hetiṁ mā naḥ kru-
 dhaḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra asmad divyām śākhām vi dhūnu* |
 20. *Mā no hīmsīr adhi no brūhi pari no vṛṇḍhi mā krudhaḥ | ma tvayā
 samarāmahi* | 21. *Mā no goṣhu puruṣeshu mā grīdho no ajāviṣhu |
 anyatrogra vi varttaya piyārūṇām prajāṁ jahi* | 22. *Yasya takmā
 kāsikā hetir ekam āśvasyeva vṛiṣaṇaḥ kranda eti | abhipūrvaṁ nirṇayate
 namo astv asmai* | 23. *Yo antarixe tiṣṭhati viṣṭabhito ayajanaḥ pram-
 ṛiṇan deva-piṇūn | tasmai namo daśabhiḥ śakvaribhiḥ* | 24. *Tubhyam
 āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛigā vane hitā haṁsāḥ suparṇāḥ śakunā vayāmsi |
 tava yazam Paśupate apsv antas tubhyām xaranti divyā ūpo eridhe* |
 25. *Siṁśumārā ajagarāḥ purikayā jashā matsyā rajasā yebhyo asyasi |
 na te dūraṁ na parikṣṭhā 'sti te Bhāva sadyaḥ sarvām pari paśyasi
 bhūmim pūrvasmād dhaṁsy uttarasmin samudre* | 26. *Mā no Rudra
 takmanā mā vishena mā naḥ saṁ srā divyenāgninā | anyatrāsmad
 vidyutam pātayaitām* | 27. *Bhavo divo Bhava īśo prithivyā Bhava
 ā papre urv antarixam | tasyai namo yatamasyām diśitaḥ* |

28. *Bhava rājan yajamānāya mṛḍa paśūnām hi paśupatiḥ babhūtha | yaḥ śraddadhāti santi devā iti chatushpade devī-pade asya mṛḍa |*
 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) *Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā no vahantam uta mā no vaxyataḥ | mā no hiṁsīḥ pītaram mātaram cha svām tanvaṁ Rudra mā rīriṣho naḥ |* 30. *Rudrasya ilāba-kārebhyaḥ sāmsūkta-gīrebhyaḥ | idam mahāsyebhyaḥ śvabhyo akaram namaḥ |* 31. *Namas to ghoshinibhyaḥ namas to keśinibhyaḥ | namo namaskṛitābhyo namaḥ sambhuñjatibhyaḥ | namas te deva senābhyaḥ svasti no abhayaṁ cha naḥ |*

"Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of spirits, lords of beasts; reverence to you twain. Discharge not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to thy arrows, Bhava, and o immortal Rudra, to thee the thousand-eyed. 4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from behind, and from below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament. 5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from before and behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the horseman, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka (?). 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra, are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy store-house of thine, within which all these worlds are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it from hence in whatever direction it goes. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who settles down and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man

tracking the steps (?) of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be from hence to them twain in whatever direction they are. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue injure Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has horses, is dark, black, destroying, who sets in motion the terrible car of the long-haired god (the Sun?): reverence be to him. 19. Do not hurl at us thy harrow (?),²⁴⁸ thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial arrow over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; intercede for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself elsewhere; slay the offspring of the wicked. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt, assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who determines [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten *śakvārī* verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, well-winged swans, and various birds are placed in the forest; worship of thee (?), Paśupati, exists in the waters: to magnify thee the celestial waters flow. 25. Porpoises, great serpents, *purīkayas*, sea-monsters, fishes, *rajasas*, upon which thou hurlest [thy weapon]. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled²⁴⁹ the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him from hence in

²⁴⁸ A. V. viii. 8, 11.—*Trīṇedhu enān matyam Bhavasya* | "May the harrow (?) of Bhava crush them."

²⁴⁹ Compare R. V. i. 52, 13, p. 86, above; and the other passages quoted in note 65 of the same page.

whatever region [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.²⁵⁰ 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who carries (?) nor those who shall carry (?),²⁵¹ neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, o deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, revered de-vouring (?) hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—*Bhavā-śarvāu idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiś cha yaḥ | ishūr yā eshām saṁvidma tā naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ* | "We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us."

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—*Ya enām avaśām āha devānām nihitam nidhim | ubhau tasmai Bhavā-śarvau parikramyeshum asyataḥ* | "Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow."

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—*So 'ryamā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | 26. Sa Rudro vasuwanir vasudeye namovāke vashaṭkāro 'nu saṁhitaḥ | 27. Tasyeme sarve yātava upa praśisham āsato | 28. Tasyāmū sarvā naxatrā vaśe chandramasā saha* | "4. He (Savitṛi) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He (Rudra) the giver of wealth, is placed as the *vashaṭkāra* in the reverential invocation, for the purpose of giving wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control."

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's Indische Studien, pp. 121-140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—*Tasmai prāchyā diśo antar-deśād Bhavam ishvāsam anushṭhātāram akurvan | Bhava enam ishvāsaḥ prāchyā diśo antar-deśād anushṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | nainam Sarvo na Bhavo na Īśāno nānya paśūn na samānān hinasti ya evam veda | 2. Tasmai dacināyā diśo antardeśāch*

²⁵⁰ Compare R. V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 151.

²⁵¹ Compare R. V. i. 114, 7, p. 256, above. It would appear as if in the time of the composition of the A. V. *uxantam* and *ucitam* of the R. V. had been derived from the root *vah*, in the same way as Sāyana explains *evavaruḥ*, and other forms of *vax* and *ux*, as derived from the root *vah*.—R. V. i. 64, 3, etc.

chharvam ishvāsam ityādi | 3. *Tasmai pratichyā diśo antar-deśāt Paśupatiṁ ityādi* | 4. *Tasmai udichyā diśo antar-deśād ugraṁ devam ityādi* | 5. *Tasmai dhruvāyā diśo antar-deśād Rudraṁ ityādi* | 6. *Tasmai ārdhvāyā diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi* | 7. *Tasmai sarvebhyaśāntam ityādi* | “ [The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vratya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor Isāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred. 2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made Ugradeva, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Isāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions,” etc.

SECT. IV.—*Passages relating to Rudra from the Satapatha and Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.*

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work) Rudra is identified with Agni :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. i. 7, 3, 8.—*Agnir vai sa devas trayaitāni nāmāni Sarva iti yathā prāchyā āchazate Bhava iti yathā Bāhikāḥ Paśunāṁ pati Rudro 'gnir iti | tāny asya śāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāny Agnir ity eva śāntatamam* | “Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,²⁵² Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśunāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (*i.e.* all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation.”

²⁵² On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): *Prāchyādi-deśa-bhedena Sarvādi-nāma-bhede 'pi devatā ekā eva* | “Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as Sarva, etc., still the god is but one.”

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—*Abhūd vā iyaṃ pratishṭhā iti | tad bhūmir abhavat | tām aprathayat sā prithivī abhavat | tasyām asyām pratishṭhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānāṅcha patiḥ saṁvatsarāya adixanta | bhūtānām patir griha-patir āsīd Ushāḥ patnī |* 8. *Tad yāni tāni bhūtāni ṛitavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ saḥ | atha yā sā Ushāḥ patny aushasī sā | tāni imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtānāṅcha patiḥ saṁvatsara Ushasī reto 'siñchan | sa saṁvatsaro kumāro 'jāyata | so 'rodit |* 9. *Tam Prajāpatir abravīt "kumāra kiṃ rodishi yach chhramāt tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si" iti | so 'bravīd "anapahata-pāpmā vā asmy ahita-nāmā nāma me dhehi" iti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāpmānam evāsya tad apahanty api dvitīyam api tritīyam abhipūrvam evāsya tat pāpmānam apahanti |* 10. *Tam abravīd Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad rūpam abhavat Agnir vai Rudro yad arodit tasmād Rudraḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 11. *Tam abravīt "Sarvo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavann āpo vai Sarvo 'dbhyo hi idam sarvaṃ jāyate | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | tam abravīt Paśupatir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavann oshadhayo vai Paśupatis tasmād yadā paśava oshadhīr labhante 'tha patiyanti | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 13. *Tam abravīd Ugro'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavat Vāyur vā ugras tasmād yadā balavad vāty Ugro vāti ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 14. *Tam abravīd Āsanir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut tad-rūpam abhavat vidyud vā Āsanis tasmād yaṃ vidyud hantya Āsanir abadhīd ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 15. *Tam abravīd Bhavo'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Parjanyaś tad-rūpam abhavat Parjanya vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyaḥ hi idam sarvaṃ bhavati | so 'bravīd "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 16. *Tam abravīd "Mahān deco 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 17. *Tam abravīd Īśāno'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat Ādityo vā Īśāna Ādityo hy asya sarvasya īshṭo | so 'bravīd "etāvān vā asmi mā metāḥ paro nāma dhā" iti |* 18.

*Tāny etāny aśtāv Agni-rūpāni Kumāro navamaḥ | sā eva Agnes tri-
eritā | 19. Yād vā eva aśtāv Agni-rūpāny aśtāxarā gāyatrī tasmād
āhur gāyatro 'gnir iti | so 'yañ kumāro rūpāny anuprāviśat | na rā
Agniñ kumāram eva paśyanty etāny evāya rūpāni paśyanty etāni hi
rūpāni prāviśat |*

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhūmi*). He extended it (*apṛathayat*). It became the broad one (*prithivī*). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That 'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).²³³ Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)²³⁴ was born in a year. The boy wept. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My sin indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his sin; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his sin. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Agni is Rudra. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodit* from *rud*, 'to weep'). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.'²³⁵ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for the waters are Sarva (All), because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 21). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him

²³³ I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasī; or how the 'lord of beings' = the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

²³⁴ The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (*Indische Studien*, ii. 302, 395) is applied to Agni in *Rig-veda*, v. 2, 1.

²³⁵ The origin of this name may perhaps be found in *Rig-veda*, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nūbhīr ita me sadhastham ime me devā ayam asmi Sarvaḥ | devā aha prathama-jā ṛitanyā idam dhenev adukhā jayavānā |* "This is my centre, here is my assembly, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."

that name, the Plants became his form, for the Plants are Paśupati. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong?) The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. Vāyu is Ugra (or the 'Fierce'). Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. Lightning is Aśani. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Parjanya is Bhava (Being); because all this [universe] arises from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahādevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. Prajāpati is the Moon: Prajāpati is the 'Great god.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Aditya (the Sun) became his form. For the Sun is Īśāna, because he rules (*īṣṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛttā*) of Agni. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables. Hence men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.' This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) is as follows:

Mārka. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradhīyātaḥ prabhoḥ | 3. Prādur-āsīd athāṅko 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitaḥ | ruroda susvaraṁ so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama | kiṁ rodishīti tam Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha*

*Tāny etāny aṣṭāv Agni-rūpāni Kumāro navamaḥ | sū eva Agne tri-
erittā | 19. Yād vā iva aṣṭāv Agni-rūpāny aṣṭāxarā gāyatrī tasmād
āhur gāyatro 'gnir iti | so 'yañ kumāro rūpāny anuprāviṣat | na vā
Agniñ kumāram iva paśyanty etāny evāsya rūpāni paśyanty etāni hi
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"This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhūmi*). He extended it (*aparthayat*). It became the broad one (*prithivī*). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That 'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).²⁵³ Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)²⁵⁴ was born in a year. The boy wept. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My sin indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his sin; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his sin. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Agni is Rudra. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodit* from *rud*, 'to weep'). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.'²⁵⁵ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for the waters are Sarva (All), because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 21). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him

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²⁵⁴ The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (*Indische Studien*, ii. 302, 395) is applied to Agni in *Rig-veda*, v. 2, 1.

²⁵⁵ The origin of this name may perhaps be found in *Rig-veda*, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nābhīr iha me sadhastham imo me devā ayam aśmī Sarvaḥ | divjā aha prathama-jā rītasya idam dhenur aduhaj jūyamānā |* "This is my centre, here is my assembly, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."

that name, the Plants became his form, for the Plants are Paśupati. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong?) The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. Vāyu is Ugra (or the 'Fierce'). Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. Lightning is Aśani. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Parjanya is Bhava (Being); because all this [universe] arises from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahādevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. Prajāpati is the Moon: Prajāpati is the 'Great god.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Aditya (the Sun) became his form. For the Sun is Īśāna, because he rules (*ishṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛttā*) of Agni. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables. Hence men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.' This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) is as follows:

Mārka. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradhīyataḥ prabhōḥ* | 3. *Prādur-āsīd athāṅke 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitaḥ* | *ruroda susvaram so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama* | *kiṁ rodishīti tam* *Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha* | *nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha*

*jagat-patim | Rudras tvaṁ deva namnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyyam āraha |
evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛitvo ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau tar-
mai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuḥ | sthānāni chaishām aśhṭānām patnīḥ
puttrāṁś cha vai devīja | Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tatheśānaṁ tathā Paśupatiṁ
prabhuḥ | Bhīmaṁ Ugraṁ Mahādevam uvācha sa Pitāmahaḥ |*

“When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (i.e. Brahmā) was meditating on a son similiar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, ‘Why dost thou weep?’ He answered the lord of the world, ‘Give me a name.’ [Brahmā rejoined] ‘Thou, o deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.’ Being thus addressed [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives, and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [beside Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva.”

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Aśani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sāṅkhāyana or Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who has copied it from the MS. of the Sāṅkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajātikāmas tapo 'tap-
yata | tasmāt taptāt panchājāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityas Chandramā
Ushāḥ panchamī | tān abravīd yūyam api tapyadhvam iti | te 'dīkshanta |
tān dīkshitāns tepānān ushāḥ prajāpatyā 'psarorūpaṁ kṛitvā purastāt pra-
tyudait | tasyām eshām manaḥ samapatat | te reto 'siñchanta | Te prajā-
patim pitaram etyābruvan “reto va asichāmahā idam no māmuyā bhūd”
iti | sa prajāpatir hiraṇmayāṁ chamasam akarod ishūmātram ūrdhvan
evam tiryāṇcam | tasmin retaḥ samasiñcat | tata udatishṭhat sahasrākṣaḥ
sahasrapāt sahasrena pratikhīṭābhiḥ | 2. Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyā-
yachhat | tam abravīt kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasīti | nāma me kure ity abra-
vīn na vā idam avihītena nāmnānnam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd
Bhava eveti yad Bhava āpas | tena na ha vā evam Bhavo hinasti | nāsya
prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ cana | atha ya enaṁ deśhṭi sa eva
pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evam veda tasya vratam ā im eva vāsah parī-*

dadhiteti | 3. *Tam dvitīyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt | kathā mābhyāyachhasīti | dvitīyam me nāma kuru ity abravīn na vā idam ekena nām-nānnam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam iti abravīch Chharva eveti yach Chharvo 'gniḥ | tena na ha vā enam Sarvo hinasti nāsyā prajāṁ nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇaṁ cana | atha ya enam dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ sarvam eva nāśnīyād iti* | 4. *Tam tritīyam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhyachhasīti | tritīyam me nāma kuru ity abravīn na vā idam dvābhyām nāmabhyām annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīt Paśupatiḥ eveti yat Paśupatiḥ vāyuḥ | tena na ha vā enam Paśupatiḥ hinasti nāsyā prajāṁ nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇaṁ cana | atha ya enam dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ brāhmaṇam eva na parivaded iti* | 5. *Tam chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhyāyachhasīti | chaturtham me nāma kuru ity abravīt | na vā daṁ tribhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Ugra eva deva iti yad Ugro deva oshadhayo vanaspatayaḥ | tena na ha vā enam Ugro devo hinasti nāsyā prajāṁ nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha ya enam dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ striyā eva vivaraṁ neksheteti* | 6. *Tam pañcamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhyāyachhasīti | pañcamam me nāma kuru ity abravīt | na vā idam chaturbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīn Mahān eva deva iti | yan Mahān deva Ādityaḥ | Tena na ha vā enam Mahān devo hinasti nāsyā prajāṁ nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha ya enam dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ udyantam evainaṁ nekshetāstaṁ yantaṁ cheti* | 7. *Tam shashṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt kathā mā abhyāyachhasīti | shashṭham me nāma kuru ity abravīt | na vā idam pañcha-bhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Rudra eveti yad Rudraś chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vā enam Rudro hinasti nāsyā prajāṁ nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha ya enam dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ vimūrtam eva nāśnīyān majjānaṁ cheti* | 8. *Tam sapṭamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhyāyachhasīti | sapṭamam me nāma kuru ity abravīt | na vā idam shadbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Īśāno eveti yad Īśāno 'nnaṁ | tena na ha vā enam Īśāno hinasti nāsyā prajāṁ nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha ya enam dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ annam evechhamānaṁ na prat-*

yācāshīteti | 9. *Tam aśtāmam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā māhy-
āyachhasīty | aśtāmam me nāma kuru ity abravāt na vā idam asplekhir
nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tram ity abravīt Aśanir eveti yad
Aśanir Indrah | tena na ha vā enam Aśanir hinasti nāsyā prajān nāsyā
paśūn nāsyā bruvānām chana | atha ya enam dceśhī sa eva pāpīgān
bhavati | na sa ya evam veda tasya eratām satyam eva caded dhiranyān
cha bibhriyād iti | sa esho 'shānāmā 'shādā rikito Mahān devah | ā
ha vā asyāshāmāt purushāt prajānnam attī casiyān casiyān haidya
prajāyām ājāyato ya evam veda |*

"Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, 'Do you also perform austerity.' They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (celestial nymph), arose. Their attention was rivetted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, 'We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.' Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' He answered, 'Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.' 'Thou art Bhava,' said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me,' he replied, 'a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.' 'Thou art Sarva,' Prajāpati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sarva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost

thou come to me?' 'Give me a third name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only two names.' 'Thou art Paśupati,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fourth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only three names.' 'Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god)' Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fifth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only four names.' 'Thou art Mahādeva (the great god),' Prajāpati answered; for Mahādeva is Aditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahādeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a sixth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only five names.' 'Thou art Rudra,' Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything decomposed, or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a seventh name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only six names.' 'Thou art Īśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Īśāna is food. Wherefore Īśāna does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahādeva (great god) who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier men will be born among his descendants."

The following is the account given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Satarudriya:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.—*Atha ataḥ śatarudriyāṁ juhoti |*

*atva eka sarva 'yān' anāṣṭīṣṭaḥ | as eka 'tra Rudra devatā | tasmin dev
 etad angīṣṭhā rājan atman adāṣṭaḥ | as eka 'tra dīpyamāno 'tiṣṭhāt
 anan icchamānaḥ | tasmād deva abhīkṣay yad vai no 'yam na hiṇyāt
 itī | 2. Te 'bruvan anan aśmai sambharāna tena enaṁ śamayāma itī |
 tasmād etad anan samaharan śānta-devatyaṁ | tena enaṁ āśmayan |
 tad yad etan devan etan āśmayāna tasmācchhānta-devatyaṁ | śānta-
 devatyān hi vai taṁ śāntarudriyaṁ ity ācharate paroxam | paroxa-
 kṣmā hi devaḥ |*

"He now offers an oblation with the Satarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called *Śānta-devatya* ("that with which a god is appeased"). They call this *Śānta-devatya* esoterically *Sata-rudriya*; for the gods love what is esoteric."

On this the commentator remarks: *Vikṛito 'yān' homo Rudra-rūpātā-
 panyaya Agneḥ upaśmanārtham |* "This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra."

The same work gives, a little further on, a different account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Satarudriya:

*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—Prajāpater viṣvātād devatā
 udakrāmāṁs tan eka eva deva nūjahāt Manyur eva | so 'eminā antar
 vātaḥ 'tiṣṭhet | so 'rudīt | tasya yāny āśrāṇi prāśkandāṁs tāny amin
 Manyaḥ pratyatiṣṭhet | as eva śata-śīrṣā Rudraḥ samabhavat sahasrāśaḥ
 śateśakūlīḥ | ethe yā anyā viprasaḥ 'pataṁs tā anyāhyātā sahasrāṇi²²⁶
 iṣṭā lokān anuprāviśan | tad yad rudītāt samaharāṁs tasmād Rudrāḥ | so
 'yān śataśīrṣā Rudraḥ sahasrāśaḥ śateśahir²²⁷ adhijya-dhancā prati-
 ṭhīṣṭet bhīkṣayamāṇo 'tiṣṭhāt anan icchamānaḥ | tasmād deva abhīkṣayāt
 7. Te Prajāpatim abruvan | asmād vai bhīhino yad vai no 'yān na hiṇ-
 syāt itī | so 'bravāt anan aśmai sambharata tena enaṁ śamayata itī |
 tasmād etad anan samaharan śatarudriyaṁ tenainam āśmayan | tad
 yad etan śataśīrṣāyān Rudraṁ etenāśmayānaḥ tasmācchhānta-*

²²⁶ Compare Nir. i. 13, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, p. 271.

²²⁷ Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 269.

*rudra-śamanīyam | śataśīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam ha vai tat śatarudriyam
ity āchazate parozaṁ | paroza-kāmā hi devā ityādi |*

"From Prajāpati, when he had become divided, the deities sprang forth. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became a Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, holding arrows, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajāpati said to them, 'Collect for him food, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food, the śatarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is "that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased" (*Sata-śīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam*). This they esoterically call Śatarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric."

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 169), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,²⁵⁸ however, which is narrated in the Vana-parva of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived:

14427 ff.—*Āgamyā manuḥ-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archa-
yāmāsa supṛito bhagavān govṛisha-dhvajaḥ | Rudraṁ Agniṁ devijāḥ prā-
hū Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudreṇa śukraṁ utśṛiṣṭaṁ tat śvetaḥ
parcato 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ śvete kṛittikābhiḥ kṛitaṁ nage | pū-
jyamānaṁ tu Rudreṇa dṛiṣṭvā sarve divaukaṣaḥ | Rudra-sūnuṁ tataḥ
prāhur Guhaṁ guṇavatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudreṇa vahnīm jāto hy*

²⁵⁸ Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.

ayaṁ śiśuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Svāhāyāḥ śhaṇṇāṁ strīṇāṁ cha Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandaḥ sra-śreshṭho Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat |

"The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Rudra Agni; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed (?) by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honored by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Rudra, [who was] Agni, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives, was the son of Rudra."

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (*deva-senā*) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasenā with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.). Indra then departs with Devasenā. It happened that Vasiṣṭha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

*Nishkrāmaṁś chāpy apaśyat sa patnīs teshāṁ mahātmanāṁ | sveshv
āśrameshūpavishṭāḥ svapantīs cha tathā sukhāṁ | rukma-vedi-nibhās tās
tu chandra-lekhā ivāmalāḥ | hutāsanārchih-pratimāḥ sarvās tārā ivād-
bhutāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā babhūva xubhitendriyaḥ | patnīr dṛishṭvā
dvijendrāṇāṁ Vahnīḥ kāma-vaśaṁ yayau | bhūyaḥ sa chintayāmāsa na
nyāyāṁ xubhito hy aham | sādhyāḥ patnyo dvijendrāṇāṁ akāmāḥ
kāmayāmy aham | naitāḥ śakyā mayā drashtum prashṭum vā 'py ani-
mittataḥ | gārhapatyāṁ samāviśya tasmāt paśyāmy abhixṇaśaḥ | sam-
sprisann iva sarvās tāḥ śikhābhiḥ kāñchana-prabhāḥ | paśyamānaś cha
munude gārhapatyāṁ samāsritaḥ | nirushya tatra suchiram evaṁ Vah-
nīr vaśaṁ gataḥ | manas tāsu viniḥxiṇya kāmayāno varāṅganāḥ | kāma-
santapta-hṛidayo deha-tyāga-viniśchitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīṇāṁ Agnir
vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tam Daxa-ḍuhitā prathamāṁ kāmayat tadā |
sā tasya chhidram anvaichhach chīrāt-prabhṛitī bhāvinī | apramattasya
decasya na cha paśyaty aninditā | sā taṁ jñātvā yathāvat tū Vahnīm
vanam upāgatam | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptaṁ chintayāmāsa bhāvinī |
ahaṁ saptarshi-patnīnāṁ kṛtvā rūpāṇi Pāvakaṁ | kāmayishyāmi kā-
mārttā tāsāṁ rūpeṇa mohitam | evaṁ kṛite prītir asya kāmāvāptiś cha
me bhavet | Sīvā bhāryyā tv Aṅgirasasḥ śīla-rūpa-guṇānvitā | tasyāḥ sā
prathamāṁ rūpāṁ kṛtvā devī janādhipa | jagāma Pāvakābhyāsaṁ taṁ
chovācha varāṅganā | mām Agne kāma-santaptaṁ tvaṁ kāmayitum
arhasi | karishyasi na cheḍ evaṁ mṛitāṁ mām upadhāraya | aham
Aṅgiraso bhāryyā Sīvā-nāmā Hutāsana | śiṣṭābhiḥ prahitā prāptā
mantrayitvā viniśchayam | Agnir uvācha | katham mām tvaṁ vijānīṣhe
kāmārttam itarāḥ katham | yās tvayā kīrtitāḥ sarvāḥ saptarshīṇāṁ
priyāḥ strīyaḥ | Sīvā uvācha | asmākaṁ team priyo nityam bibhīmas tu
vayaṁ tava | teachchittam ingitair jñātvā preshitā 'smi tavāntikam |
maithunāyecha samprāptā kāmam prāptum drutaṁ chara | yāmāyo mām
pratixante gamishyāmi Hutāsana | Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | tato 'gnir
upayame tām Sīvāṁ prītāṁ mudā yutaḥ | prītyā devī samāyuktā śukrāṁ
jagrāha pāninā | achintītyad mamedāṁ ye rūpāṁ draxyanti kānane | te
brāhmaṇīnāṁ anṛitāṁ doshaṁ vaxyanti Pāvako | tasmād etad razamūṇā
Garuḍī sambhavāmy aham | vanād nirgamanāṁ chaiva sukhāṁ mama
bhaviṣyati | Suparṇī sā tadā bhūtvā nirjagāma mahāvanāt | apaśyat
parvataṁ śvetaṁ śara-stambaiḥ susaṁvṛitam | dṛishṭvishaiḥ sapta-śirshair
guptam bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | razobhiś cha piśāchais cha raudrair bhūta-
gaṇais tathā | rāzasibhiś cha sampūrṇam anekaiścha mṛiga-dvijaiḥ | sā*

*tatra sahasā gatvā śaila-prishṭhaṁ sudurgamam | prāxipat kāñchane
 kuṇḍe śukraṁ sā tvaritā śubhā | sapṭānām api sā devī saptarshīnām
 mahātmanām | patnī-sarūpatāṁ kṛtvā kāmāyāmāsa Pāvakam | divya-
 rūpam Arundhatyāḥ karttuṁ na śakitaṁ tayā | tasyās tapaḥ-prabhāvena
 bharttuḥ śusrūṣhaṇena cha | śaṭkṛitvas tat tu niḥxiptam Agne retaḥ
 Kurāttama | tasmin kuṇḍe pratipadi kāmīnyā Svāhayā tadā | tat skan-
 naṁ tejasā tatra saṁvritaṁ janayat sutam | rishibhiḥ pūjitaṁ skannam
 anayat Skandatāṁ tataḥ | śaṭ-śirā dviguṇa-śrotro dvādaśāxi-bhūja-kra-
 mah | eka-grīvaika-jāṭharaḥ kumāraḥ samapadyata |
 v. 14514: Yadā Skandena mātṛiṇām evam etat priyaṁ kṛitam | ta-
 thainam abravīt Svāhā "mama putras tvam aurasaḥ | ichhāmy ahaṁ
 tvayā dattāṁ prītim parama-durlabhāṁ" | tām abravīt tataḥ Skandaḥ
 prītim ichhasi kīdrīṣīm | Svāhovācha | Daxasyāham priyā kanyā Svāhā
 nāma mahābhūja | bālyāt prabhṛiti nityaṁcha jāta-kāmā Hutāsane | na
 sa mām kāmīnim putra samyag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | ichhāmi śāśvataṁ vāsaṁ
 vastum putra saḥāgninā | Skanda uvācha | Havyaṁ kavyaṁcha yat kiñ-
 chid dvijānām mantra-saṁstutam | hoshyanty Agnau sadā devī svāhety
 uktvā samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛiti dāsyanti suvṛittāḥ sat-pathe sthitāḥ |
 evam Agnis tvayā sārddham sadā vatsyati śobhane | Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha |
 evam uktā tataḥ Svāhā tushṭā Skandena pūjītā | Pāvakena samāyuktā
 bharttrā Skandam apūjayat | tato Brahmā Mahāsenam Prajāpatir athā-
 bravīt | abhigacchha Mahādevam pitaraṁ tripurārdhanam | Rudreṇāgniṁ
 samāviśya svāhām āviśya chomayā | hitārthaṁ sarva-lokānām jātas tvam
 aparājitaḥ |*

"Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] seated in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars (?), pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of the Brahmans, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, 'It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmans, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.' Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was

overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahmans' wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daxa, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected: 'I who am distressed by love, will take the form of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the beautiful goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him: 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied: 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' Sīvā answered: 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil your desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hutāsana (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Sīvā. The goddess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest, will falsely allege the transgression of Brahmans' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will become easy. She then, becoming Suparnī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents whose very glance was venomous, by Rāxasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Raxasīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she

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The first is from the Svetāśvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii. pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Ya eko jālavān īsate īsanībhiḥ sarvān lokān īsate īsanībhiḥ | ya evaika udbhav sambhava cha yo etad vidur amṛitās te bhavanti |* 2. *Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyā tasthur²⁵⁰ ya imān lokān īsate īsanībhiḥ | pratyaṇ janāms tishṭhati sañchukopānta-kālē²⁶⁰ saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ |* 3. (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) *Viśvataś-chazur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sambāhubyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ |* 4. *Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvādhipo Rudro maharshiḥ | Hiranyagarbham janayāmāsa pūrvaṁ²⁶¹ sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṁyunaktu |* 5 and 6=Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 268). . . . iv. 21: *Ajāta ity evaṁ kaśchid bhīruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te dazimam mukham tena mām pāhi nityam |* 22=R. V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 (see above). "He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his powers, he who in source and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he absorbs them at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, blows them forth with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great sage, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first

²⁵⁰ These words *na dvitīyā tasthur* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a similar reading (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-siras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *eka eva Rudro 'vataste na dvitīyāḥ*; and Sāyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 42), gives the words thus, *eka eva Rudro na dvitīyo 'vataste*. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 12, note), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Eka eva Rudro 'vataste na dvitīyo vaṇe vighnan pritanūsu śatrūn | saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ pratyaṇ janān sañchukochānta-kālē |* "One only Rudra exists and no second, slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the end."

is probably *sañchukocha*. See the last note.

varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jōyamānam*, i.e. "beheld. The rest of the verse remains the same.

could not take the divine form of Arundhatī (the wife of Vasiṣṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the *pratipad* (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (*skanna*), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of *Skanda*. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (*svarga*). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said to him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Daxa, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: 'Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, '*Svāhā*.' From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, o beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.' Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Svāhā.'"

SECT. V.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.*

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the Svetāśvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii. pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Ya eko jālavān īsate īsanībhiḥ sarvān lokān īsate īsanībhiḥ | ya evaika udbhav sambhava cha ye etad vidur amritās te bhavanti |* 2. *Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthur*²⁵⁰ *ya imān lokān īsate īsanībhiḥ | pratyā janāms tishṭhati sañchukopānta-kāle*²⁵¹ *saṁsṛīya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāh |* 3. (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) *Viśvataś-chaxur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sambāhubhyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ |* 4. *Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvādhipo Rudro maharshiḥ | Hiranyagarbhaṁ janayāmāsa pūrvaṁ*²⁵¹ *sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṁyunaktu |* 5 and 6=Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 268). . . . iv. 21: *Ajāta ity evaṁ kaśchid bhīruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te dāxiṇam mukham tena mām pāhi nityam |* 22=R. V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 (see above). “He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his powers, he who in source and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he absorbs them at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, blows them forth with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great sage, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first

²⁵⁰ These words *na dvitīyāya tasthur* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a similar reading (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-siras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *eka eva Rudro 'vataste na dvitīyaḥ*; and Sāyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 42), gives the words thus, *eka eva Rudro na dvitīyo 'vataste*. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 12, note), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Eka eva Rudro 'vataste na dvitīyo rane vighnān pritanūsu śatrūn | saṁsṛīya viśvā bhuvanāni gopā pratyā janān sañchukochānta-kāle |* “One only Rudra exists and no second, slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end.”

²⁵¹ The proper reading is probably *sañchukocha*. See the last note.

²⁵² These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jōyamānam*, i.e. “beheld Hiranyagarbha being born.” The rest of the verse remains the same.

generated Hiranyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . *Ibid.* iv. 21. Some fearful man approaches (thinking) thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra, protect me with thy southern face."

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-śiras²⁶² Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings :

Devā ha vai svargam lokam agaman | te devā Rudram apricchhān ko bhavān iti | so 'bravīd aham ekaḥ prathamam āsam varttāmi cha bhavān yāmi cha nānyaḥ kaśchid matto vyatirikta iti | so 'ntarād antaram praviśat diśāśchāntaram sampraviśat | so 'ham nityānityo vyaktavyakto 'ham Brahmābrahmāham prāñchaḥ pratyañcho 'ham daxiñāñcha udañcho 'ham adhaśchorddhevañcha diśāścha pratidiśāśchāham pumān apumān strī chāhañ sāvitry ahañ gāyatri aham trishṭub jagaty anuṣṭup chāhañ chhanda 'ham gārhapaty daxiñāgnir āhavanīyo 'ham satyo 'ham gaur ahañ Gaury ahañ jyeshṭho 'ham śreshṭho 'ham varishṭho 'ham āpo 'ham tejo 'ham rig-yajur-sāmātharvāṅgirasō 'ham azaram ahañ xaram ahañ guhyo 'ham gopyo 'ham aranyo 'ham pushkaram aham pavitram aham agrāñcha madhyañcha vahiścha purastāj jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvañcha mām eva mām yo veda sa sarvān devān veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇyena havīmśi havishā āyur āyushā satyaṁ satyena dharmān dharmena tarpayāmi svena tejasā | tato devā Rudraṁ nāpaśyams te devā Rudraṁ dhyāyanti tato devā ūrdhva-bāhavaḥ stuvanti yo vai Rudra sa bhagavān yaś cha Brahmā tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vishṇu tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Mahēśvaras tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā chomā tasmai | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vināyaka tasmai | yo vai Rudraḥ yaścha Skandaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ yaśchendraḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ yaśchāgniḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ yā cha bhūḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ yaścha bhuvāḥ | om ādau madhye bhūr bhuvāḥ suvar ante śirshham²⁶³ janadom viśva-rūpo 'si | Brahmaikas tvaṁ devī-

²⁶² A work called Atharva-śiras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyana I. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 138.

²⁶³ The commentator explains this thus: *Śīrshaṁ śiro mantrāḥ svāhety evaṁ rūpaḥ | janadom janadeti karmo palazaṇārtham azara-troyam janam janīm tadupa-laxita-janimad vastu-jātam tad dadūti iti janadaḥ | tasya sambodhanam |* Instead of the words in the text, another MSS. reads, *bhūs te ādir madhyam bhuvāḥ te eva te śīrshaṁ viśvarūpo 'si.*

*tridhā ūrddhvaṃ adhaścha tvaṃ śāntiścha tvaṃ puṣṭiścha tvaṃ tush-
ṭiścha tvaṃ hutam ahutam viśvam aviśvaṃ dattam ādattam kṛitam
akṛitam param aparam parāyaṇaṇcheti* | “*apāma somam* ²⁶⁴ *amṛitā
abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān | kiṃ nūnam asmān kṛṇavad
arātīḥ kim u dhṛttir amṛita marttyasya*” | (R. V. viii. 48, 3) |
*sarva-jagaddhitam vā etad azaram prajāpatyaṃ sūxmaṃ saumyam
puruṣam agrāhyam agrāhyeṇa Vāyuṃ vāyavyeṇa somaṃ saumyeṇa gra-
sati svena tejasā | tasmā upasaṃharttre mahāgrāsāya vai namo namaḥ |
hṛidiṣṭhā devatāḥ sarvā hṛidi prāṇo pratishṭhitāḥ | hṛidi tvam asi yo
nityaṃ tisro mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ | tasyottarataḥ śiro daksinataḥ pādau ya
uttarataḥ sa oṃkāraḥ | ya oṃkāraḥ sa prāṇavo yaḥ prāṇavaḥ sa sarva-
vyāpī yaḥ sarva-vyāpī so 'nanto yo 'nantas tat tāraṃ* ²⁶⁵ *yat tāraṃ tat
sūxmaṃ yat sūxmaṃ tat śuklaṃ yat śuklaṃ tad vāidyutaṃ yad vaidyu-
taṃ tat param Brahmēti sa ekaḥ sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa
Maheśvaraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate oṃkāraḥ | yasmād
uchchāryamāṇa eva sarvaṃ śarīram unnāmayati tasmād uchyate oṃkāraḥ
.* *atha kasmād uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvān lokān udgrīhṇāti* ²⁶⁶ *sṛijati
viśrijati vāsrayati tasmād uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ |
eko Rudro na dvitīyāya tastho (sthitavān | advitīya eva sthitavān | Comm.)
turiyam imāṃ lokam īsate īsanīyur (niyamana śaktimān | Comm.) janani-
yuh (viśvotpādaka-śaktimān | Comm.) pratyā janās tiṣṭhanti saṃyugas-
yāntakāle saṃhṛitya viścā bhuvānani goptā* ²⁶⁷ *tasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ |
atha kasmād uchyate Īśāno yaḥ sarvān lokān īsate īsanībhir jananībhiḥ pa-
rama-śaktībhiḥ | “abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhā iva dhenavaḥ | īśānam
asya jagataḥ swardriṣam īśānam Indra tastushaḥ”* | (R. V. vii. 32, 22) |
tasmād uchyate Īśānaḥ | *atha kasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ | yaḥ
sarvān lokān sambhavaḥ sambhayaṭy aśasraṃ sṛijati viśrijati vāsrayati
tasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ | atha kasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ | yaḥ
sarvān bhāvān paritṛayya ātma-jūāna-yogaiśvarye mahati mahīyate tas-*

²⁶⁴ *Umayā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpiṇyā Kātyāyanyā saha varttate iti Somaḥ tam |
yataḥ somam apāma tataḥ amṛitāḥ maraṇa-hetubhir avidyā-tat-kārya-saṃskārair
vivarjitāḥ abhūma sampannāḥ* | —Comm.

²⁶⁵ *Tṛayati*, “delivers :” that which delivers.—Comm.

²⁶⁶ *Ūrāhva-mozam ātmani grīhṇāti* | —Comm.

²⁶⁷ In another MSS. a different answer is given to this question : *Tasmād rishībhir
nānyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate* | “He is called *Rudra* because his
form is quickly (*drutam*) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons [or, by
devout rishis alone ?].”

mād uchyate Mahādevaḥ | tad etad (etad nāma-nirukṭi-rūpaṁ charitam | Comm.) Rudra-charitam | “esho ha devaḥ pradīśo 'nu sarvāḥ pārso ha jātaḥ sa u garbhe antaḥ | sa eva jātaḥ sa janishyamānaḥ pratyas janāḥ tishṭhati viśvato-mukhaḥ” | (Vāj. S. 34, 4) | “viśvataś-chazur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubhyāṁ dharmatī saṁ patatrair dyāvā-prithivī janayan deva ekaḥ” | (R. V. x. 81, 3) | . . . Rudre ekatvam (aikyam | Comm.) āhuḥ | Rudraṁ śāśvataṁ vai purāṇam ityādi . . . | vratam etat pāsupatam | agnir iti bhasma vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyometi bhasma sarvaṁ ha tā idam bhasma mana etāni chaxūṁshi bhasmāni | “Agnir” ityādinā bhasma grihītvā nirijya āṅāni saṁspriśet | tasmād vratam etat pāsupatam paśu-pāśa-vimoxāya | yo 'tharva-śīram brāhmaṇo 'dhīte so 'gnī-pūto bhavati | sa vāyu-pūto bhavati | sa āditya-pūto bhavati | sa soma-pūto bhavati | sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati | sa sarveshu tirtheshu snāto bhavati | sa sarveshu vedeshu adhīto bhavati | sa sarva-veda-vrata-charyāsu charito bhavati | sa sarvair devair jñāto bhavati | sa sarva-yajña-kratubhir iṣṭavān bhavati | tena itihāsa-purāṇānāṁ Rudrāṇāṁ śata-sahasrāṇi japtāni bhavanti | gāyatrīyāḥ śata-sahasraṁ japtam bhavati | prajāvānāṁ ayutaṁ japtam bhavati | rūpe rūpe (pāṭhe pāṭhe pratipāṭham | Comm.) daśa-pūrvān punāti daśottarān āchaxushaḥ pañc-tim punāti ityāha bhagavān Atharva-śīro 'tharva-śīraḥ (abhyāsa ādar-ārthaḥ | Comm.) | sakṛj japtvā śuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmaṇyo bhavati | dvitīyam japtvā gūṇapatyam (sarva-niyantrītvam | Comm.) avāpnōti tritīyam japtvā devam evānupraviśaty oṁ satyam | “yo Rudro agnau yo apu antar ya oshadhīr vīrudha āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākṛīpe tasmai Rudrāya namo 'stu agnayo” | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 277).

“The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, ‘Who art thou?’ He said, ‘I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.’ He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. ‘I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,²⁶⁵ I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc. Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the *sāvitṛī*, I the *gāyatrī*, I the *trishṭup* (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern,

²⁶⁵ *Vākyābhyāso rūpasūyātmano vāstavatva-pradarśanārthaḥ | Comm.* I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not *Brahma*, but *abrahma*.

and the *āhavanīya* fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gauri,²⁶⁹ I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am fire, I am the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāṅgīrasas, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the *pushkara* (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light,—I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmanas with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditated upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praised him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vishṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Mahēśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūh, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvah, etc.' (In the same way Rudra is identified with *suvaḥ* [*svaḥ*]; *mahaḥ*; *jana*; *tapas*; *satya*; *prithivī*; *āpas*; *tejas*; *vayu*; *ākāśa*; *sūrya*; *soma*; *nakṣatrāṇi*; *auśtau grahāḥ*; *prāṇa*; *kāla*; *Yama*; *mṛityu*; *amṛita*; *bhūta*, *bhavya*, *bhaviṣyat*; *viśva*; *kṛtsna*; *sarva*; and *satya*). Om! at the beginning and in the middle are *bhūr*, *bhuvah*, *svaḥ*; at the end is the head. O giver of life, om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, o immortal god?'²⁷⁰ This imperishable [being or word?] benefi-

²⁶⁹ *S'iva-priyā* | *aṣṭavarshā vā kumārī gaura-varnā bāla-tatā* (?) *tu* | —Comm.

²⁷⁰ Quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 162. According to the commen-

cial to the whole world, sprung from Prajāpati, subtile, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of wind, soma by that which has the nature of soma.²⁷¹ To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the pranava, which (pranava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtile, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma. He is the one; he is the only Rudra, he is Isāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra. (The same enquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words *pranava*, *sarvavyāpin* ['all-pervading'], *ananta* ['infinite'], the 'deliverer,' 'subtile,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then *eka* 'one' is explained.). Now why is he called 'one?' He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the 'one.' 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within [him?]. At the time of the final conjunction he annihilates all worlds, the protector.²⁷² Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Isāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, o heroic Indra, like un milked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (*isāna*) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].'²⁷³ Hence he is called *Isāna*. (*Bhagavat* is then explained). Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning

tator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means *sa+uma*, he who dwells with Umā, in the form of divine knowledge, Kūtyāyanī.

²⁷¹ I do not profess to understand the sense of this.

²⁷² It is difficult to make sense of this verse as the text at present stands.

²⁷³ R. V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 90.

all forms of being, is magnified in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. 'This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, o men, with his face turned to every side.' (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) 'The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, blows them forth with his arms, and with his wings.' " (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. "In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval," etc. The Pāśupata rite is thus described: "This is the Pāśupata observance; 'Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes are ashes.' Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāśupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śira is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and passages relating to Rudra, and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs have been muttered, ten thousand oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-śiras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters, *om*, into the true god. 'Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.' "

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra's character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (*Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Rudrendrāḥ*); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which, as it seems to be

corrupt, I cannot perfectly make out) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (*kāraṇaṁ tu dhyeyaḥ sarvaiśvarya-sampannaḥ sarvaiśvareś cha Sambhur ākāśa-madhye dhruvaṁ stabdhvā 'dhikam xanam ekam kṛtaśatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatyā yat phalaṁ tad avāpnoti kṛtenam oṣṭāra-gataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānām yat phalam oṣṭāra vede-parsaśo vā śiva eko dhyeyaḥ śivāṅkaraḥ sarvaṁ anyat parityajya*).

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Aśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (*Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam parameshṭhinam upasametyovācha adiki bhagavan brahma-vidyām ityādi* |). Brahmā (*pitāmah*) among other things tells him as follows: *Antyāśrama-sthaḥ sakalendriyāni nirukhya bhaktyā sva-gurum prapamya | hṛit-puṇḍarikam virajāṁ viśuddhaṁ vichintya madhye viśadaṁ viśokam | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpaṁ śivam praśāntam amṛitam brahma-yoniṁ | tam ādi-madhyānta-vihinam ekaṁ vibhuṁ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhutam | Umāsahāyam paramaśtaram prabhuṁ trilochanaṁ nīla-kaṇṭham praśāntam | dhyātvā munir gacchati bhūta-yoniṁ samasta-sāxim tamasaḥ parastāt | sa Brahmā sa Śivaḥ Sendraḥ so 'xaraḥ paramaḥ svarāt | sa eva Viśṇuḥ sa prāṇaḥ sa ātmā paramaśvaraḥ* | ²⁷⁴ *sa eva sarvaṁ yad bhūtam yachcha bhavyaṁ sanātanaṁ | jñātvā taṁ mṛityum atyeti nānyah panthā vimuktaye | . . . yaḥ śta-rudriyam adhite so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vāyu-pūto bhavati ityādi* | "A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (*i.e.* that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (*śiva*), tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the supreme lord, the consort of Umā, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Viśṇu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation." Further

²⁷⁴ Another MS. has here *Sa kīlo 'gnih sa Chandramāḥ*.

on it is said : "He who reads the Satarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air," etc. etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the Nīlarudropanishad, which begins thus : *Apasyāṁ chāvarohantaṁ divitaḥ prithivīmayaḥ | apasyāṁ apasyāṁ taṁ Rudraṁ nīlagrivaṁ śikhaṇḍīnam* | "I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra." This composition contains many verses from the Satarudriya.

SECT. VI.—*Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.*

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 138, 147, 148, 153–170, 187–190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.). I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itihāsas, or Purāṇas, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyana i. 14, 1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 138, 146 f., and 148 f. The other texts of the Rāmāyana in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following; and the representations which are there given of this god appear generally to bear a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyana i. 25, 10 ff. (ed. Schl.), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid) who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (*anāṅga*). (*Kandarpo mūrttimān āsit Kāma ity uchyate budhaiḥ | āveshṭum abhyagāt tūrṇaṁ kṛitodvāham Umāpatim | tapasyantam iha Sthānuṁ nimayena samāhitam | dharshayāmāsa durmedhā huṅkṛitāś cha mahātmanā | avadhyātasya Raudreṇa chazushā Raghunandana | vyaśīryanta śarīrāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ |*)

In l. 36, 20, it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the "unequalled Rudra" (*Rudroḥya apratirūpya*). In chapter xxiv. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of Śiva with Umā is described in most unqualified language, as follows: *Parā Rāma kṛtodeśaḥ Sītikanthaḥ mahatapaḥ | Umi ca sparśdhāya devī maitrīmāyopachakrāt | tasya anūkrīḍamānasya Mahādevasya dhīmatāḥ | Sītikanthasya dehyācha dāyaṁ curāha-bhātāḥ pataḥ | eam manmatha-yuddhe tu tasya āsit parāyayaḥ | na chāpi tasya Rāma tasyām āsit paratapaḥ |* "Formerly, after his marriage, Sītikantha (Śiva) the great devotee, and the goddess Umā, began to indulge emulously in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sītikantha and the goddess were thus sporting. In this contest of love neither of them was overcome: not, o Rāma, vexer of thy foes, was any son born to Umā." The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 292), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Śiva and Umā, but the latter imprecated sterility on all their wives. The thirty-eighth section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Śiva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahādeva who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (*i.e.* Mahādeva) is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (*yo naḥ senāpatir deva datta bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayā |*). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāsa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛittikās."

In the forty-third section it is related how king Bhagīratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 41, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Siva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīratha (as is told sect. 48) continued his austerities till Siva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (*Paśupati*) appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, but came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīratha, Siva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths of the serpent Vāsuki, which was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Siva to deliver them from this portent:

Atha devā Mahādevaṁ Sankaraṁ śaraṇārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupatiṁ Rudram trāhi trāhīti tushṭuḥ | prādurāsīt tato 'traiva śaṅkha-chakra-gadādharah | uvāchainaṁ smitaṁ kṛtvā Rudram śāla-dharaṁ Hariḥ | daivatair mathyamāṇa tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitaṁ | tat tvadīyaṁ sura-śreṣṭha surāṇāṁ agrajo hi yat | agra-pūjām iha sthitvā grihāṇedaṁ visham prabho | ity uktvā cha sura-śreṣṭhas tatraicāntaradhiyata | devatānāṁ bhayaṁ drisṭvā śrutvā vākyaṁ tu Sūrṅgiṇaḥ | halāhalaṁ visham ghoram saṅjagrāhāmṛitopamam | devān visṛjya deveṣo jagāma bhagavān Harah | "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, Sankara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out] 'deliver, deliver.' Then Hari appeared on that very spot, bearing

the shell, the discus, and the mace, and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident: "That which has first appeared, when the seas were being churned by the deities, belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art the first-born among them. Standing here, receive, here, this poison as the earliest offering." Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Vishnu, he (Śiva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Āsuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Vishnu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vishnu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vishnu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhyākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Śiva as residing there:

Kishk. 44, 27 ff.—*Taṁ tu sigḥram atikramya kūtīrām loma-harik-
aṣam | pāṇḍurām dravyathā tataḥ Kailāsam nāma parvatam | tatra
pāṇḍura-meghābhāṁ Jambīnada-parīkṛitam | Kuvera-bharaṇam divyaṁ
nirmītaṁ Viśvakarmajā |* "Having quickly passed over that dreadful
desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and
there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour
like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold."

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio's recension of the Rāmāyana is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Calcutta edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Taṁ tu deśam atikramya Trīśiṅgo nāma parvataḥ |
tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kāñchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate
divyā tizṇa-śrotās tarāṅgiṇī | nadī naika-grahākīrṇā kuṭilā loka-bhāvinī |
tasyaikaṁ kāñchanaṁ śiṅgam parcatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidūryama-
yam ekañcha kailāsyāśya samuchkṛitam | Anutpanneshu bhūteshu ba-
bhūva kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtānām Viśvakarmeti viśrutaḥ |
tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanaḥ | āsit trīśikḥaraḥ śailaḥ
pruvartitās tatra yo 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarvamedhe mahā-
| kṛitvā 'bhavad mahātejaḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila*

saṁsthānaṁ saro vai sārva-medhikam | tataḥ pravṛittā Sarayūr ghora-nakravatī nadī | deva-gandharva-patagāḥ piśāchoraga-dānavāḥ | pravi-santi na taṁ deśam pradīptam iva pāvakam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahādevābhīpālitaṁ | ityādi | “When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Trisṛinga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of *lapis lazuli*. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient *agni-hotra* sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandhavas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva,” etc.

In regard to the legend of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5, 6, the story from the Nirukta in pp. 7, 8, above, and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiii. 7, 1, 14, p. 1002 :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—*Tena haitena Viśvakarmā Bhauvana īje | teneshṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati ya evam vidvān sarva-medhena yajate yo vaitad evaṁ veda |* 15. *Tuṁ ha Kāśyapo yājyāñcha-kāra | tad api bhūmih ślokaṁ jagau |* “na mā martyaḥ kāśhana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana manda āsitha | upamaṇxyati syā salilasya madhye mṛishaisha te saṅgaraḥ Kāśyapāya” iti | “With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the *sarva-medha* (‘universal sacrifice’)—he who thus knows this. 15. Kāśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the earth

recited a verse :²⁷⁵ "No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kaśyapa is vain."

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyana intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter "became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds." Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 280 and 282, pp. 316 and 317. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmāyana, be regarded as sprung from the earth, and therefore not eternal.

In the following passage²⁷⁶ Mahādeva is represented as paying a visit to Kuvera on mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divine character of Rama :

Ram. v. 89, 6 ff.—*Attha pradhāno dharmātmā lokānām īśvaraḥ prabhuh | tataḥ sabhāyām devasya rājño Vaiśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyaya-sabhām devaḥ prāpto hi Vṛishhabha-dhvajaḥ | Umā-sahāyo devaḥ gaṇaiḥ cha bahubhir vṛitaḥ | avatīrya vṛishāt tūrṇam mahītaḥ śula-dhṛig vibhuh | gires tasya mahātejāḥ pravishṭas tu sabhām Haraḥ | Riddhyā sahāya-yuktaḥ cha tathā Vaiśravaṇaḥ svayam | anyonyam tau samālingya upaviṣṭāv ubhāv api | sabhāyām tatra tau devau te cha devā yathākramam | upaviṣṭā gaṇāḥ chaiva yajās cha saha Guhyakaiḥ | aśa-dyūtaṁ tatas tābhyām pravṛittam samanantaram | etasminn antare tatra Rāsa-sendraṁ Vibhūṣhaṇam | dṛishṭvā Paulastyam āyāntam Sivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaram | ayaṁ Vibhūṣhaṇaḥ prāptaḥ śaraṇam tava pāṛthiva | manyunā 'bhipluto vīro Rāsaxendra-vimānitaḥ | ityādi |*

²⁷⁵ The commentator observes on this : *Asmai cha Viśvakarmā bhūmim dātum iyesha tatra cha kālē bhūmīr api imāṁ ślokaṁ gītavati | tvaṁ tu mandaḥ manda-matir janāḥ āsītha babbhūvītha jāta ity arthaḥ | upa-śabdō ni-śabdasyāvrthe | yai chāśakyam pratijñānte manda ity abhiprāyaḥ |* "Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the earth also sang this verse. Thou wast dull, dull of understanding. The preposition *upa* is here used in the sense of *nī*. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish." Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-paṇḍita, v. 10209 (in the First Part of this work, p. 157), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Paraśurāma; and another text from the Anuśāsanaparva, vv. 7232 ff. (*ibid.* p. 164), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her and she became his daughter. Compare also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 23).

²⁷⁶ This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devānāgarī recension which corresponds to it—viz., vi. 17, 1, ff.

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (*Kailāsa*, v. 4); and at the same time Vaiśravaṇa himself, with Riddhi (? his wife), and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods and the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yaxas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the meantime, beholding the eminent Raxasa Vibhishana, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, 'This, o king, is the hero Vibhishana, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Raxasas (*Rāvaṇa*),' etc. etc.

While Śiva is speaking, Vibhishana arrives, and bows down before the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rāxasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhishana stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Śiva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): *Tam dhyāyamānam bhagavān uvācha prabhur avyayaḥ | uttiṣṭhotttiṣṭha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāsvataḥ | . . . 39. Tasmād uttiṣṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhum avyayam | ādhārām sarva-bhūtānām śāsvatām niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānām cha gatiḥ gati-matām varaḥ | kṛtsnasya jagato mūlam tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam |* "The divine, imperishable lord said: 'Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontroled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).'" Vibhishana then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.²⁷⁷

From the passage quoted above from the *Mahābhārata* in p. 241, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries

²⁷⁷ In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:—
iii. 30, 27 (ed. Cal.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): *Sa papāta Khara bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇa vinirdagdhaḥ Sektōraṇy purā 'ndhakaḥ |* "The Rāxasa Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was]

of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 224-246, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daxa's sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vayu and other Purāṇas (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 61 ff.).

This story is told, perhaps, in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel):

Evam uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmuniḥ | śrūyatām asya dhanuḥśo yad-artham iha tiṣṭhati | Devarāta iti khyāto Nīmeḥ śhaśṭho mahīpatiḥ | nyāso 'yaṁ tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanah | Daxa-yājña-badhe pārvaṁ dhanur āyama viryavān | vidheasya tridaśa Rudraḥ sātām idam abravīt | "yasmād bhāgārthīno bhāgān nākalpayata me surāḥ | varāṅgāni mahārḥāni dhanuḥśa śātayāmi vaḥ | tato vimanasaḥ sarve devā vai muni-puṅgava | prāsādayanta devesāṁ teshāṁ prito 'bhavaḥ Bhavaḥ | pritaśchāpi dadau teshāṁ tāny āṅgāni mahaujasaḥ | dhanuḥśa yāni yāny āsan śātītāni mahātmanā | tad etad deva-devasya dhanu-ratnam mahātmanah | nyāsa-bhūtaṁ tadā nyastaṁ asmākam pūrvaḥ vibho | ²⁷⁵

formerly consumed by Rudra in the Sveta forest." iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): *Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripuraṁ vai vijigyushaḥ* | "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): The Rāxasa trembled when smitten by Laxmana's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (*Rudra-vāṇāhataṁ ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuram* |). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. *Hatair asvair padātair cha tad bābhūva raṇājīram | ākrīḍa iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paśūn* | "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals." I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): *Kumbhasya patato rūpam bhagnasyorasi muṣṭinā | Īṣvareṇābhīpannasya rūpam Paśupater iva* | "The appearance of Kumbha when struck on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (Śiva) when overcome by Īṣvara." The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: *Īṣvareṇa pralaya-kālena hetunā abhīpannasya lokān abhīrasatasya Paśupate Rudrasya rūpam iva rūpam bābhūva ity arthaḥ* | The Calc. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: *bābhau Rudrābhīpannasya yathā rūpam Gavāmpateḥ* | which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the sun, overcome by Rudra."

²⁷⁵ This last line runs as follows in Gorresio's edition (ch. lxviii. 13): *Tiṣṭhaty adyāpi bhagavan kule 'smakāṁ supūjitam* | The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.

"Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: 'Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Deva-rāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daxa's sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision: *Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your principal and most precious limbs with my bow.* Then all the deities, being distressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.'"

In this version of the myth there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Virabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.²⁷⁹

The same story is told in greater detail in the Sānti-parva of the Mahābhārata, in verses 10226-10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of *Jvara*, Fever), Umā, Siva's wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, enquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daxa's horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: *Surair eva mahābhāge pūrvam etad anuṣṭhitam | yajñeshu sarveshu mama na bhāga*

²⁷⁹ This same version of the story is again alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmāyaṇa:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr.): *Tam dṛiṣṭvā tejasā yuktam vīryathur vana-devatāḥ | Daxasyeva kratum hantum udyatāstram Pinākinam |* "Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinākin (Siva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa." Ibid. 70, 2: *Hantu-kāmam paśum Rudraṁ kruddhaṁ Daxa-kratau yathā |* And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): *Tato viṣphārayāmāsa Rāmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavān iva saṅkruddho Bhavaḥ kratu-jighāmsayā |* "Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice." Rudra's followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: *Sa taiḥ parivṛito ghorai rāzasair nṛi-varātmajaḥ | Mahādevaḥ pūtri-vane gaṇaiḥ pāśiva-gatair iva |* "This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rāxasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery." And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Siva is called the lord of demons (*griham Bhūtapater iva*).

upakalpitaḥ | pūrvopāyopapannena mārgena varavarṇini | na me surāḥ prayachhanti bhāgaṁ yajñasya dharmataḥ | "The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, arising out of early arrangements, the gods lawfully (*dharmataḥ*) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, Siva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Siva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born *Jvara* (fever) which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Siva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (*bhavato 'hi surāḥ sarve bhāgaṁ dāsyanti vai prabho*), and proposes that *Jvara* (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Siva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (*ity ukto Brahmanā devo bhāge chāpi prakalpīte | bhagavantaṁ tathety āha . . . parāṇcha prītim agamad utsmayaṁścha Pināka-dhṛik | acāpa cha tadā bhāgaṁ yathoktam Brahmanā Bhavaḥ*).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daxa formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himālaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhichi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. *Tūn dṛishṭvā manyunā 'vishto Dadhichir vākyaṁ abravīt | "nāyaṁ yajño na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijjate | badha-bandham prapannā vai kinnu kālasya paryyayah | kinnu mohād na paśyanti vināśam paryyupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghoraṁ na budhyanti mahādhware" | Ity uktvā sa mahā-yogī paśyati dhyāna-chakrāḥ | sa paśyati Mahādevaṁ devīṇcha vara-dām śubhām | Nāradaṁcha mahātmānaṁ tasyā devyāḥ samīpataḥ | santosham paramaṁ lebhe iti nīśchitya yoga-vit | eka-mantrās tu te sarve geneśo na nimantritaḥ | tasmād deśād apākramya Dadhichir vākyaṁ abravīt | apūjya-pūjanāchchaiva pūjyānāñchāpy apūjanāt | nri-ghātaka-samam pāpāṁ śasvat prāpnoti mānavaḥ | anṛitaṁ nokta-pūrvam me na cha varye kadāchana | devatānāṁ rishīnāṁ cha madhye satyam bravīmy aham | āgatam Paśubharttāraṁ sraṣṭāraṁ jagataḥ patim | adhware yajña-bhoktāraṁ sarveshām paśyata prabhum | Daxa uvācha | Santi no bahavo*

*Rudrāḥ śūla-hastāḥ kapardinaḥ | ekādaśa-sthāna-gatā nāmaṁ vedmi Ma-
heśvaram | Dadhīchir uvācha | sarveśhām eva mantro 'yaṁ yenāsau na
nimantritaḥ | yathā 'ham Saṅkarād ūrdhvaṁ nānyam paśyāmi daiva-
tam | tathā Daxasya vipulo yajño 'yaṁ na bhaviṣhyati | Daxa uvācha |
etan makheśāya suvarṇa-pātre haviḥ samastaṁ vidhi-mantra-pūtam | Viś-
nor nayāmy apratimasya bhāgam prabhur vibhuḥ chāhavanīya eśhaḥ |
Devy uvācha | kim nāma dānaṁ viśhamaṁ tapo vā kuryām ahaṁ yena
patir mamādyā | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo arddham tathā bhā-
gam atho tṛtīyam | evam bruvānām bhagavān sva-patnīm prahrīṣṭa-
rūpaḥ zubhitām uvācha | na vetsyi mām devi kṛiṣṭadarāṅgi kim nāma yuk-
taṁ vachanam makheśe | ahaṁ vijānāmi viśāla-netre dhyānena hīnā na
vidanty asantaḥ | tavādya mohena cha sendra-devā lokās trayāḥ sarvata
eva mūḍhāḥ | mām adhvaro śaṁsitārah stuvanti rathantaram sāma-gāś
chopagānti | mām brāhmaṇā brahma-vido yajante mamādhvaryavaḥ kalpa-
yante cha bhāgam | Devy uvācha | supṛākṛito 'pi puruṣho sarvaḥ strī-jana-
saṁsadi | stauti garvāyate chāpi svam ātmānam na saṁśayaḥ | Bhagavān
uvācha | nātmānam staumi deveśi paśya me tanu-madhyame | yaṁ sraz-
yāmi varārohe yāgarthe vara-varānini |*

“Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake :
‘This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is not
worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of
destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through
delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not
that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.’ Having so spoken,
this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation : he sees
Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to
her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi,
versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted
a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued
forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus : ‘By worshipping
that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that
which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that
of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever
utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold
Paśubharttri (Śiva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the
lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.’ Daxa replied : ‘We have many
Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing braided hair, who occupy

eleven places. I know not Mahēśvara.' Dadhichi answered: 'Owing to this preconcerted plan of all [the gods] (*lit.* this is a device of them all, by which) he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Sankara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daxa shall not be prosperous.' Daxa spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Vishnu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishnu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.'²⁸⁰ Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible, husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, O large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the veda (*brahma*), adore me, and *adhvaryu* (i.e. Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.'²⁸¹ Devī replied: 'Doubtless, every common man

²⁸⁰ Prof. Wilson (p. 63) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāṇa: "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhicha and Daxa, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daxa, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śiva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (*sarvesho eva hi yajñeshu na bhōgaḥ parikalpitaḥ | na mantrā bhōgyayā sārādhaṁ Sankarasyeti neshyate |*) Dadhicha apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas (*sa stūyate sahasrāmśuḥ samagādhvaryyu-hotribhīḥ | paśyaināṁ Vīse-karmāṇāṁ Rudram mūrti-trayīmāyam |*) Daxa replies that the twelve Adityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (*ye ete dvādaśādityā Aditya-yajña-bhāgināḥ | sarve sūryā iti jñeyā na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evam nūtu tu munayaḥ samōyātā didṛxavaḥ | vādhām ity abruvan Daxaṁ tasya sūbhōgya-kāriṇaḥ |*) These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daxa's neglect of Śiva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc. etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.

²⁸¹ The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 63) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has he *me* by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office

praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.' Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daxa's preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly enquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Vīrabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god: (*varaṁ krodho 'pi devasya vara-dānaṁ na chānyataḥ*). Upon this Daxa sings the praises of Maheśvara.²⁸² The latter then appears, and assents to Daxa's request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless. Daxa then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2-7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata. Satī, the wife of Siva, was the daughter of Daxa, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): *Prasūtim Mānavīm Daxa upayame hy Ajātmajah | tasyām sasarija duhitṛiḥ shoḍaśāmala-lochanāḥ | trayodaśādād Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vīdhuḥ | pitṛibhya ekām yuktebhyo Bhavāyaikām bhava-chhīde* | "Daxa, the son of Aja (the 'unborn'—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. On her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united] Pitṛis, and one to Bhava (Siva), the destroyer of existence." Satī, however, bore no children to Siva. 64. *Bhavasya patnī tu Satī Bhavaṁ devam anuvratā | ātmanah sadriṣam putram na lebhe guṇa-śilataḥ* |

Library, and is as follows: *Mamādhvare śaṁsitōrah stuvanti rathantare sūma gūyanti geyam | abrahmaṇe brahma-satre yajante mamādhvaryyavaḥ kalpayante cha bhōgam* | "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the *rathantara* they sing the *sūma* song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahmans; and the *adhvaryyu* priests divide for me a portion." It is remarkable that Mahādeva's worship should be here described as performed without Brahmans.

²⁸² In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (*Devo nābhūyate tatra Viśvakarmā Maheśvaraḥ*). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 308 f., and note 280. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daxa had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again.

21 ff.—*Ya etam martyam uddīśya bhagavatṛ apṛatīdruhi | drūhyat
ajñāḥ prīthag-dṛiṣṭis tattvato vimukho bhavet | grīheṣhu kṣā-dharmehu
saktō grāmya-sukhechhayā | karma-tantraṃ vitanutād*²⁸⁵ *veda-vāda-vipassan-
dhiḥ | buddhyā parābhidyāyinyā viṣṇūtātma-gatiḥ paśuḥ | strī-kṣāṇaḥ
so 'stu nitarāṃ Daxo vasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyām
karmamayyām asau jaḍaḥ | saṃsaranto iha ye chāmum anu Sarrācamē-
ninam | girāḥ śrutāyāḥ puṣpinyā madhu-gandhena bhāriṇā | mātṛā
chonmathitātmanāḥ sammuhyantu Hara-dvishāḥ | sarva-bhaxā deījā cṛiti-
yai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmā yāchakā vicāraṇte
iha |* "May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daxa),
and considering [Śiva] as distinct [from the supreme spirit],—hates
the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth.
Devoted to domestic occupations and low duties, from a desire of
vulgar pleasures, let him practise the round of ceremonies, with an
understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.²⁸⁶ Forgetting the nature
of soul with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daxa, brutal,
be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat.
Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those
who follow this contemner of Śarva (Śiva), continue to exist in this
world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Śiva), whose
minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement
of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brah-
mans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising
austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches
and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!"

words 'in cemeteries,' etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says 'like a madman.' Otherwise he would have said 'a madman.' *Aśīca*, un-fortunate, means he than whom none is more fortunate. The words *matta* and *matta-jana-priya* should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean 'not insane,' 'beloved by the not-insane.' The words 'lord of Pramathas,' etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. *Nashṭa-śauchāya* means that from him comes purity to the depraved. *Durhṛit* means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that 'even these among the wicked are to be compassionated by me.' *Vata* intimates joy. 'Owing to the injunction of Brahṃā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter:' such is the sense."

²⁸⁵ This is Burnouf's reading. The Bombay edition reads *vitanute*.

²⁸⁶ This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the Śaivas, that their worship was not very consistent with their own most veneral

The wrath of Bhṛigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse :

27 ff.—*Tasyaivaṁ dadataḥ śāpaṁ śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhṛiguḥ
pratyasṛijach chhāpam brahma-dandaṁ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dharā
ye cha ye cha tān samanuvratāḥ | pāṣaṇḍīnas te bhavantu sacchhāstra-
paripanthināḥ | naśṭa-śauchā mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhāsmāsthī-dhārīnāḥ |
viśantu Śiva-dīcāyaṁ yatra daivam surāsavam | brahma cha brāhma-
nāmś chaiva yad yūyam parinindatha | setum vidhāraṇam puṁsām atāḥ
pāṣaṇḍam āśritāḥ | eṣa eva hi lokānām śivāḥ panthā sanātanaḥ | yam
pūrve chānusaṁtasthur yat-pramāṇam Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramaṁ
suddham satām vartma sanātanam | vigarhya yāta pāṣaṇḍam daivam vo
yatra bhūta-rāṭ |* “Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe
of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical
weapon, hard to be evaded : ‘Let those who practise the rites of Bhava
(Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the
true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding,
wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initia-
tion of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile
the veda (brahma) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are
restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious
(śiva) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and
wherein Janārdana (Vishṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda
(brahma), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the
heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.’”

On hearing this imprecation, Śiva departed with his followers, while
Daxa and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the
sacrifice in which Vishṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues
(sect. 3). Daxa being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the
Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called
Vṛihaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this
sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither.
He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and
advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her
relatives, disregards his warning and goes ; but being slighted by her
father, Daxa, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and
threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected

with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Siva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daxa to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a *yajus* text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (*yajña-ghna-ghnena yajushā darināgnau juhāva ha*). A troop of Rikhus in consequence spring up, who put Siva's followers to flight. Siva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daxa and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Siva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. *Rurijur yajña-pātrāṇi tathaike 'gnin anāsayan | kundeshe amūtra-yan kechid bibhidur vedi-mekhalāḥ | abādhanā munin anye eke patatr atarjayan | apare jigrihur devān pratyāsannān palāyitān | . . . juh-vataḥ srucā-hastasya śmaśrūṇi bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhṛigor lulanāhe sadasi yo 'hasat śmaśru darśayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitaḥ rushā bhuvi | ujjahāra sadahstho 'xñā yaḥ śapantam asūsuchat | Pūshanā chōpātayaḥ dantān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | śapyamāne garimaṇi²⁵⁷ yo 'hasat darśayan dataḥ |* "Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. The divine Bhava (Siva) plucked out the beard of Bhṛigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, shewing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who when in the assembly had made a signal to [Daxa when] cursing [Siva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's) who (Pūshan) had laughed, shewing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed." Siva then cuts off the head of Daxa, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), who, with Vishnu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises the gods to propitiate Siva, to whom they had wrongfully refused a share in the sacrifice (*athāpi yūyaṁ kṛita-kīrtiḥ Bhavaṁ ye barhiṣho bhāga-bhājam parādūḥ*). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Siva "bearing the liṅga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an

²⁵⁷ *Garimaṇi gurūtare Rudre | Comm.*

antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud" (*liṅgañcha tāpasābhīṣṭam bhasma-dāṇḍa-jatājīnam | angena sandhyā-bhṛa-ruchā chandra-lekhāñcha bibhratam* |). Brahmā addresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma,—the lord of Sakti and Siva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Siva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them:" (*jāne tvām īśam viśvasya jagato yoni-vijayoḥ | Sakteḥ Sivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantaram | tvam eva bhagavann etach Chhiva-Saktyoḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvaṁ srijasi pāsy atsi kṛdānn ūṇa-paṭo yathā*). Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daxa, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (*na yatra bhāgaṁ tava bhāgino daduḥ kuyajvinaḥ*). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Daxa to have the beard of a goat, Bhaga to see with Mitra's eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bhṛigu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. Daxa, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Siva. The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva's warriors, an oblation is made to Vishṇu in three cups (*Vaiśṇavaṁ yajña-santatyai trikapālaṁ dvijottamāḥ | puroḍāśaṁ niravapan vira-saṁsarga-buddhaye*). Hari (Vishṇu) being meditated on, then appears, is saluted with the greatest reverence by Brahmā, Indra, and Siva (*Tryaxanāyaka*); is lauded successively by Daxa, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc. etc., and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daxa and Mahādeva, and to shew that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations:

Sri-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha Sarvaś cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmesvara upadrashṭā svayāmdṛig aviśeshanaḥ | ātma-māyāṁ amāviśya so 'ham guṇamayīm dvija | srijan raxan haran viśvaṁ dadhres saṁjñāṁ kriyochitām | tasmin Brahmany aditīye kevale paramātmam | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtāni bhedenājño 'nupaśyati | yathā pumān na svāṅgeshu śiraḥ-pāṇy-ādishu kvachit | pārakya-buddhiṁ kurute evam bhū-

teshu mat-paraḥ | "I am Brahmā and Sarva (Śiva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting, (or, self-beholding) devoid of attributes. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the three *guṇas* (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. In that one and only Brahmā, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me]."

Daxa, after adoring Viṣṇu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice. Satī, the daughter of Daxa, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (*evaṁ Dāxāyaṇī hitevā Satī pūrva-kalevaram | jāyāo Himavataḥ xetre Menāyām iti śūsruma* |).²⁸⁸

The Śaiva compiler of the Liṅga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaiṣṇava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Viṣṇu at the expense of Śiva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

²⁸⁸ The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa i. 8, 9 ff. : *Evam-prakāro Rudro 'sau Satīm bhāryāyām avindata | Daxa-kopāchecha tatpāja sū Satī svām kalevaram | Himavad-duhitū sū 'bhūd Menāyām dvija-sattama | upayame punas chomām ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ* | "Rudra, being of the character thus described (*i.e.* one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā : see above, p. 286) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daxa. She then became as the daughter of Himavat and Menā ; and the divine Bhava again married Umā who was identical [with his former spouse]." In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daxa ; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated among the *Munis* to whom Daxa's daughters were wedded : *Tābhyah śiṣṭāḥ kaṇḍasya ekādaśa sulochanāḥ | Khyātiḥ Saty aha Sambhūtiḥ Smṛitiḥ Prītiḥ Xamā tathā | Sannatiḥ chānusūyā cha Ūrjā Svāhā Svadhā tathā | Bhṛigur Bhavo Marīchiḥ cha tathā chaivāṅgirā munīḥ | Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ chaiva Kratuḥ charṣi-varas tathā | Atrir Vasishṭho Vahnīḥ cha Pitarasḥ cha yathā-kramam | Khyāti-ādyā jāyāḥ kanyā munayo muni-sattama* | "Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daxa) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyāti, Satī, Sambhūti, Smṛiti, Prīti, Xamā, Sannati, Anusūyā, Ūrjā, Svāhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛigu, Bhava, Marīchi, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Vahnī (*i.e.* Agni or Fire), and the Pitrīs,—these *munis* in order married Khyāti and the other maidens."

Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva :

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5 ff.—*Pitāmaha uvācha | Pradhānam lingam ākhyātām lingī cha paramēśvaraḥ | razārtham ambudhau mahyaṁ Viṣṇos tv āsīt surottamāḥ | vaimānike gate sarge jana-lokaṁ saharṣibhiḥ | sthiti-kāle tadā pūrṇe tataḥ pratyāhṛite tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satya-lokaṁ gate surāḥ | vinā 'dhipatyam samatām gate 'nte Brahmano mama | śuśke cha sthāvarē sarve tv anāvṛishtyā cha sarvaśaḥ | paśavo mānushā vṛixāḥ piśāchāḥ piśitāsanāḥ | gandharvādyaḥ kramenaiva nirdagdā bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekārṇave mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushṭe (?) hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nirupaplavaḥ | sahasra-śīrṣhā viśvātmā sahasrāḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | Hiranyagarbho rajasā tamasā Saṅkaraḥ svayam | sattvena sarvago Viṣṇuḥ sarvātmavo Muheśvaraḥ | kālātmā kāla-nābhas tu śuklaḥ kṛishṇas tu nirguṇaḥ | Nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ sarvātmā sadasanmayah | tathā bhūtam ahaṁ drisṭvā śayānam paṅkajaxaṇam | māyayā mohitas tasya tam avo-
cham amarshitaḥ | kas tvaṁ vadeti hastena samutthāpya sanātanam | tadā hasta-prahāreṇa tīreṇa sa dridhena tu | prabuddho 'hīya-śayanāt samā-
sīnaḥ xaṇam vaśi | dadarśa nidrā-viklinnaṁ nīrajāmala-lochanaḥ | mām agre samsthitam bhāśādhyāsito bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān hasan mām madhuraṁ sakṛit | svāgataṁ svāgataṁ vatsa pitāmaha mahā-
dhyute | tasya tad vachanaṁ śrutvā smita-pūrcam surarshabhāḥ | rajasā viddha-vairāś cha tam avochaṁ Janārdanam | bhāshase vatsa vatseti sarga-
samhāra-kāraṇam | mām ihāntaḥ-smitaṁ kṛitvā guruḥ śishyam ivānagha | karttāraṁ jagatām sāxāt prakṛiteścha pravarttakam | sanātanam ajaṁ Viṣṇuṁ Viriñchiṁ viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānaṁ vidhātāraṁ dhātā-
ram paṅkajaxaṇam | kimartham bhāshase mohād vaktum arhasi satvaram | so 'pi mām āha jagatām karttā 'ham iti lokaya | bharttā karttā bhavān angad avatīrṇo māavyayāt | vismṛito 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam anāmayaṁ | puruṣam paramātmānam pura-hūtam puruṣtutam | Viṣ-
ṇuṁ achyutam īśānaṁ viśvasya prabhavodbhavam | tavāparādho nāsty atra mama māyā-kṛitaṁ tv idam | śṛiṇu satyaṁ chaturvaktra sarva-deveśvaro hy aham | karttā netā cha harttā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhuḥ | aham eva param Brahma param tattvam pitāmaha | aham eva paraṁ jyotiḥ param-
ātmā tv ahaṁ vibhuḥ | yad yad drishtaṁ śrutaṁ sarvaṁ jagaty asmiṁś charācharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktra sarvam manmayam ity atha | mayā sṛisṭam purā vyaktaṁ chaturviṁśatikaṁ svayam | nityāntā hy*

*anavo baddhāḥ śrīṣṭhāḥ krodhodbhavādayaḥ | prasādād hi bhavān anḍāny
 anekānīha līlayā | śrīṣṭhā buddhir mayā tasyām ahaṅkāras tridhā tataḥ |
 tanmātra-pañchakam tasmād mano dehendriyāṇi cha | ākāśādīni bhūtāni
 bhautikāni cha līlayā | ity uktavati tasmimś cha mayi chāpi vacas tathā |
 āvayoś chābhavad yuddham sughoram romaharṣaṇam | pralayāṅgata-
 madhye tu rajasā baddha-vairayoḥ | etasminn antare lingam abhavaś-
 chāvayoḥ puraḥ | vivāda-samanārthaṁ hi prabodhārthaṁ tathācayoḥ |
 jvāla-mālā-sahasrādhyam kālānala-śatopamam | xaya-eriddhi-vinirmita-
 tam ādi-madhyānta-varjitam | anaupamyam anirdēśyam avyaktaṁ vīva-
 sambhavam | tasya jvālā-sahasreṇa mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitam
 prāha mām etra parixāvo 'gni-sambhavam | adho gamiṣhyāmy anala-stam-
 bhasyānupamasya cha | bhavān ūrddham prayatnena gantum arhasi (sic)
 satvaram | evaṁ vyāhṛitya vīśvātmā svarūpam akarot tadā | vārāham
 aham apy āśu haṁsateam prāptavān surāḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti mām āhar
 haṁsam haṁso virād iti | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād mām haṁsaḥ sa
 bhaviṣyati | suśveto hy analāxas cha vīśvataḥ paśa-saṁyutaḥ | mano-
 'nila-javo bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chorddhvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi vīśvātmā
 nilāñjana-chayopāmam | daśa-yojana-vistīrṇam śata-yojanam āyatam |
 Meru-parvata-varṣmānam gaura-tīxṇāgra-dashtīnam | kālādītya-samā-
 bhāsam dirgha-ghoṇam mahāsvanam | hrasva-pādaṁ vichitrāṅgam jaitreṇ
 dridham anaupamam | vārāham asitam rūpam āsthāya gataṁ adhaḥ |
 evaṁ varṣa-sahasraṁ tu tvaran Viṣṇur adho gataḥ | nāpaśyād alpaṁ
 apy asya mūlaṁ lingasya sūkaraḥ | tāvat kālaṁ gato hy ūrddham aham
 apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaram sarva-yatnena tasyāntam jñātum icchayā |
 śrānto hy adṛiṣṭvā tasyāntam ahaṅkārad²⁶⁹ adho gataḥ | tathāiva bha-
 gavān Viṣṇuḥ śrāntaḥ saṁtrasta-lochanāḥ | sarva-dēva-bhavas tūrṇam
 utthitaḥ sa mahāvapuh | samāgato mayā sārddham pranīpatya mahā-
 manāḥ²⁷⁰ | māyayā mohitaḥ Sambhoḥ tathā samvigna-mānasah | prīṣṭha-
 taḥ pārśvataḥ chaiva chāgrataḥ paramēśvaram | pranīpatya mayā sārdd-
 haṁ sasmāra kim idam tv iti | tadā samabhavat tatra nādo vai śabda-
 laxanaḥ | om om iti sura-śreṣṭhāḥ suvyaktaḥ pluta-laxanaḥ | kim idam
 tv iti sañchintya mayā tiṣṭhan mahāsvanam | lingasya daxiṇe bhāge tadā
 'paśyat sanātanam | ādyaṁ varṇam a-kāraṁ tu u-kāraṁ chottare tataḥ |
 ma-kāram madhytas chaiva nūdāntam tasya chom iti |*

²⁶⁹ In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my *Mataparīṣā*, the reading is *ahaṁ kālād*, which seems a preferable reading.

²⁷⁰ *bhayaṁ muhuḥ*—reading in the *Mataparīṣā*.

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an enquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the *Linga*, and Paramēśvara is called *Lingī*²⁹¹ (the sustainer of the *Linga*). It arose for the preservation of myself and Viṣṇu in the ocean, o deities. When the *Vaimānika*²⁹² creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka,²⁹³ and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,²⁹⁴ and all immoveable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps²⁹⁵ upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (*rajas*) Hiranyagarbha, through darkness (*tamas*) Sankara, through goodness (*sattva*) the all-pervading Viṣṇu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, the name of time, white, black, free from the three qualities. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome,

²⁹¹ *Līṅgādhisṭhānam* | Comm.

²⁹² *Vaimānike sarge deva-sarge* | Comm.

²⁹³ "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vayu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā," etc.—Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 213, note; see also the same Work, p. 632, and note 7.

²⁹⁴ *Lit.* 'the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion.'

²⁹⁵ The reading of the Bombay text is here *pushṭe*; but some such word as *śete* 'sleeps,' seems to be required by the sense.

welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, o deities, my illwill being excited by passion (*rajas*), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, o sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words *child, child*, to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakṛiti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu,²⁹⁶ Viriñchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Puruṣa, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, o four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is no lord equal to me. I, even I, o Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahmā, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit. Whatever thing, moveable or immoveable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, o four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtle] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath²⁹⁷ (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacency thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (*buddhi*) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold *āhankāra*: from it the five *tanmātras*, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose in the sea of universal dissolution²⁹⁸ between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous *Līṅga*, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incom-

²⁹⁶ Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.

²⁹⁷ See above, p. 225 f.

²⁹⁸ See the commencement of this extract.

parable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.²⁹⁹ Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyaṇa too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Viṣṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the *Linga*. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, o destroyer of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, and so too the divine Viṣṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn-out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Śiva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Paremeśvara (Śiva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, o chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound *om, om*, distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the *Linga*; the first letter *a-kāra*, after it *u-kāra*, *ma-kāra* in the centre, and *Om* as the result of the sounds.' "

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word *om* and the other letters of the alphabet, etc. etc.

The eighteenth section contains a hymn addressed by Viṣṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Viṣṇu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them

²⁹⁹ See the First Vol. of this work, pp. 7 and 15.

with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original :

Linga Purāṇa, 18, 8 ff.—*Jānubhyam avanīm gatvā punar Nārāyaṇāḥ svayam | pranīpatya cha Viśveśam prāha mandatarām vaśi | āvayor devadeveśa vivādam ati-śobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yasmad vivāda-śamanāya nau | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā punaḥ prāha Haraḥ Hariḥ | pranīpatya sthitam mūrdhnā kritāñjali-putam smayan | Śrī-mahādeva uvācha | pralaya-sthiti-sargāṇaṁ kartā tvam dharanīpate | vatsa vatsa Hare Viṣṇo pālayaitach charāchavam | tridhā bhinnō hy ahaṁ Viṣṇo Brahma-Viṣṇu Bhavākhyayā | sarga-raxā-laya-guṇair nishkalaḥ paramēśvaraḥ | sammoḥaṁ tyaja bho Viṣṇo pālayainam Pitāmahaḥ | pādme bhaviṣyati sutaḥ kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā draxyasi mām chaivāṁ so 'pi draxyati padma-jah | evam uktvā sa bhagavān tatraivāntaradhīyata | tadā-prabhṛti lokeshu liṅgārchā supratishṭhitā | liṅga-vedī Mahādevī liṅgaṁ sākṣād Maheśvaraḥ |* "The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (Śiva), spoke gently thus : 'Our dispute, o god of gods, has proved most auspicious,³⁰⁰ since thou hast come hither to allay it.' Having heard these words, Hara (Śiva), smiling, again said to Hari (Viṣṇu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined : 'Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the universe] : my child, my child, Hari, Viṣṇu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a three-fold manner under the names of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Viṣṇu, thy delusion ; cherish this Pitāmaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprung from the lotus (Brahmā), shall see me.' Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the *Liṅga* has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the *Liṅga* is Mahādevī (Umā) and the *Liṅga* is the visible Maheśvara."

³⁰⁰ I cannot render this sentence otherwise than by taking *vivādam* for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains *śobhanam* as meaning *ubhayor api sama-balatvāch chhobhamānam*, "brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants."

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the origin of the Linga-worship.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 225 f., makes him of Vishṇu): *Sanandanādayo ye cha pūrvam śriṣṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapeṣāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñānā vīta-rāgā vimatsarāḥ | teshv evaṁ nirapeṣeshu loka-śriṣṭāu mahātmanaḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt mahākrodhas trailokya-dāhana-xamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidipitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ trailokyam akhilam mune | bhrukutī-kutīlāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dipitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-samaprabhaḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachando 'ti-sariravān | "vibhajātmānam" ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | tathokto 'sau devidhā strītvam puruṣatvaṁ tathā 'karot | vibheda puruṣatvaṁ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvam cha sa prabhuḥ | vibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ |* "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and enflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white."³⁰¹

In the same way the Harivaṁśa says (v. 43): *Tato 'srijāt punar Brahmā Rudraṁ roṣātma-sambhavam |* "Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger."

³⁰¹ See Professor Wilson's notes (3 and 4) on this passage, V. P., p. 51.

SECT. VII.—*Results of the preceding Sections.*

The various texts quoted in Sections i.–iv. (pp. 252–291) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmanas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 296 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 147, 153–170, 187–190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with Śiva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, and shall describe the successive mutations which the conception of this deity undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda :

“ We have a Rudra, who, in after times, is identified with Śiva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet *kapariddin* which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Śiva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different significa-

tion—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Siva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, *kaparddin* may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Siva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the *Linga* or *Phallus*: neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the *Trimūrti*, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva, as typified by the mystical syllable *om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the *Lingam*³⁰² (vol. i. pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

“Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes, in any remarkable degree, of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons; and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the ‘terrible Agni;’ but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire (*ibid.* pp. xxxvii. f.).

“Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4).

³⁰² Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, book i. chap. i. p. 140.

With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R. V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness to identify him with the Rudra of the Purāṇas (vol. ii. pp. ix. f.)."

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his Indische Studien, ii. 19-22 :

"In the beginning of the ninth book of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 289 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Satarudriya (see above, p. 268 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (*chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam, Sāyana*), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (*dīpyamāno 'tishṭhat*), the gods (*i.e.* the Brahmins³⁰³) are terrified by it, *gad vai no yam na hiṁsyād iti* ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, *i.e.* to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, *i.e.* to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains *śata-rudriya* by *śānta-rudriya* (as *gata* comes from the root *gam*); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.³⁰⁴ In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the Satarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was

³⁰³ "In the Brāhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

³⁰⁴ The Ārṣhadyāya of the Chārāyaṇīya School of the Kāthaka also (ii. 17) says: *Satarudriyam devānāṃ Rudra-samanam*. "The Satarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods."

composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (*manyu*) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (*aufwühlen*) of heaven and earth,³⁰⁵ must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmīr) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil:³⁰⁶ numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility, and giver of happiness;'³⁰⁷ but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (*śiva*); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epi-

³⁰⁵ Hence in the R. V. i. 114, 5, he is also called *varāha*, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

³⁰⁶ In R. V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the Sātarudriya.

³⁰⁷ Wilson Introd. to trans. of R. V. vol. i. quoted above, p. 333.

thets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of Śiva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the Śatarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (*giriśa*, *giriśaya*, *giriśanta*, *giritra*), and those of *kapardin*, *vyūpta-keśa*, *ugra*, and *bhīma*, *bhishaj* and *śiva*, *śambhu* and *śankara*, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of *nīla-grīva* (= *nīlakaṇṭha*, spoken of smoke), *śitikaṇṭha*, *hiraṇyabāhu* (of flame), *vilohita*, *śahasrāxa* (of sparks), *paśupati* (of sacrificial victims), *śarva* and *bhava*, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets³⁰⁸ are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Śiva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin.³⁰⁹ But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Īśa or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analagous to that of the epic Śiva; and as the word *śiva* is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative *śivatara* annexed), the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Śiva."

³⁰⁸ "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus Śiva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kālī, Karālī, to Agni," etc.

³⁰⁹ "Hence he is also called Kālāgnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kālāgnirudra Upanishad."

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. iii. p. 318 f.:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root *vā* 'to blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They ride on spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in (*sic*) Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes, he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few. He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the 'slayer of men,' *kshayadvīra*;³¹⁰ his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the *Rik*, at least in the *Atharva* and *Brāhmaṇas*, he is styled 'lord of the animals,' as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time he is, to propitiate him, addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connection between the Vedic religion and the later *Sīva*-worship. *Sīva* is a god unknown to the *Vedas*: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply 'propitious;' not even in the *Atharva* is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has

³¹⁰ Compare the sense given to this word in the translation of *R. V.* i. 114. 1, above, p. 255.

since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Siva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development: perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Siva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharva shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion."

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3), as lord (*iśāna*) of this world, possessed of divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might³¹¹ (*ibid.* 10), as the father of the world,³¹² mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (*ibid.* 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (*ibid.* 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 33, 11), wearing braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (*ibid.* 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5

³¹¹ Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishnu and Indra above: see pp. 84, 85. And yet in R. V. ii. 38, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitri.

³¹² Compare Raghuvansa i. 1, where Paramēśvara (S'iva) and Pārvatī are styled the "parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitarau*).

vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (*ibid.* 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men, *nṛi-ghne* (iv. 3, 6). His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily-invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (*ibid.* 7), gracious (*śiva*, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3; ³¹³ vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii. 29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff. he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishnu) as an agent in producing the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. Except, however, in a small number of texts, as R. V. i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 3; and x. 92, 5, there are few distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin;" and even the word *kaparddin* ("with braided hair"), which at a later period

³¹³ In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.

became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahādeva, is in the R. V. applied also to Pūshan (see above, p. 254, note 224). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely represented, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser, may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency, and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and *vice versa*; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any *other deity* to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishṇu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R. V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression.

Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with braided hair" (*ibid.* 10), the "fierce" (*ibid.* 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (*ibid.* 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17-46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20, 21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc. etc. (vv. 18, 28). Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Satarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Sarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitṛi (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand Bhava and Sarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Sarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).³¹⁴

³¹⁴ The Nirukta i. 15 contains a text relating to Rudra which, as given at length by the commentator Durga (cited by Roth, *Illust. of Nir.* p. 12, note 4), is as follows:

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Sarva is said to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhikas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (*kumāra*, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1) to whom the names of Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān-deva, and Īśāna were successively given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 286 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 289 f. and 334) appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 291), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rig-veda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R. V. ii. 1, 6, p. 25; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 277 and 281; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 284; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 20) to identify the different deities with one another appears to have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahā-

Eka eva Rudro 'vatasthe na deitīyo rane vighnan pritanāsu iatrūn | saṁśṛjya vishvā bhuvanāni goptā pratyap janān saṁchukochāntakāle | "One Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle: having created all worlds, a preserver, he afterwards annihilates all beings at the time of the end." Durga does not inform us whence this verse is derived, and I cannot say (see above, p. 297, note). After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, it appears to assign to in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer

bhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Satarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Viṣṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 267) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Parvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taitt. Ār.,³¹⁵ is now his acknowledged consort.³¹⁶ In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Viṣṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the *linga* as the great generative power.

Lassen asserts (Indian Antiquities, i. 783) that no mention of the *linga* occurs in the Epic poems. I have, however (above, p. 161), quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which it is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet *mahāśepha* in p. 160, which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the *linga* is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 167:

Anuśāsana-parva, v. 7510.—*Dahaty ūrddhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇān*

³¹⁵ These passages will be quoted in the next section.

³¹⁶ It appears (see Westergaard's Dissertation on the oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Śiva (under his different appellations of Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, and Mṛḍa)—viz., Bhavāṇī, Śarvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛḍāṇī—may be formed. (The rule is this: *Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-Śarva-Rudra-Mṛḍa-himāranya-yava-yavana-mātulaśāhryyāṇām ānuk*). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī were never of any significance.

*urjāṁś cāśvīrāś cā gaṁ | śāhīrā-lingaś cā gaṁ vāṅgaś tasmāt Śāhīr
 āśi vāṅgāś |* v. 7516: *Nityāṁś cā brahmacharyyaṁ lingaṁ aya
 gaṁś śāhīrāś | mahāyānty ayaś lokāś cā prajāṁ hy aśat mahātmanaś |
 vīraḥ pūjayed yaś cā lingaṁ vā pi mahātmanaś | linga-pūjāyātī nī-
 gaṁ mahatīṁ śrīṇaś alaṁś | rishayaś śāpīś devāś cā gandharvāpsarasas
 tatātā | lingaṁ vārahyaśātī ayaś yat tat ārdhvaṁ aśmāsthitaṁ | śyādi |*
 "And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he
 is fixed, and since his *linga* is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called
Śāhīr. . . . 7516: And when his *linga* remains constantly in a state of
 elasticity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The
 constant worshipper of the *linga*, who shall worship the image (*vīraḥ*),
 or the *linga*, of the great [god], enjoys great prosperity. It is the *linga*,
 raised up, which the rishis, gods, Gandharvas, and Apsarasas worship."

The *linga* is also mentioned in the list of Śiva's names in another
 part of the same *Anuśāsana-parva*, v. 1160:

Ārdhva-ratā ārdhva-linga ārdhva-āyī nabhaś-athitāś | v. 1191:
Līṅgādyazaś vārdhādyazaś vīrdhāyazo vīja-kartā "He
 whose seed is raised up, whose *linga* is raised up, who sleeps aloft,
 who abides in the sky." v. 1191: "The lord of the *linga*, the
 lord of the *seeds* (gods) the lord of seed, the former of seed."

We possess no records to show how this phallic emblem became con-
 nected with Rudra. But, as Stevenson (*Journal R. A. S.* viii. 330²¹⁷)

²¹⁷ In this paper on "the Anti-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the "worship of Śiva, especially under the form of the *Līṅga*," is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the anti-Brahmanical religion of India, i.e. to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to Śiva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts (1) that Śiva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later Śiva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daxa, such as the general indisposition to acknowledge Śiva's right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 317, note), point to a recent introduction of Śiva's worship (comp. *Mahābhārata*, *Vana-parva*, vv. 11001 ff., cited in p. 241 of this volume); (4) that there is no connection between the *Līṅga* and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the *Līṅga* worship are to be found in the south and north-west of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a *Līṅga* temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Viṣṇu Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśṇuvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. The same is the impression of Prof. Wm. Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

and Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 783) imagine, it is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word *śiśnadeva* which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the Second Volume of this work (p. 407 and note 65). But I shall quote them again here with the contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:

R. V. vii. 21, 3 ff.—*Tvam Indra sravitavā apas kaḥ parishṭhitā Ahinā śūra pūrvīḥ | tvad cāvakre rathyo na dhenā rejante viśvā kṛitrimāni bhīṣā |* 4. *Bhīmo vivesha āyudhebhīr eśhām apāmsi viśvā naryāni vidvān | Indrah puro jarhṛishāno vi dūdhod vi vajra-hasto mahinā jaghāna |* 5. *Na yātava Indra jājuvur na na vandanā śavishṭha vedyābhiḥ | sa śardhad aryo vishunasya jantor mā śiśna-devā api gur ṛitaṁ naḥ |* 6. *Abhi kratvā Indra bhūr adha jman na te vicyaṁ mahimānaṁ rajāmsi | svenā hi Vṛit-traṁ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antaṁ vidad yudhā te |* 7. *Devās chit te asuryāya pūrve anu xatrāya mamire sahāmsi | Indro maghāni dayato vishahya Indraṁ vājasya johavantu sātāu |* 8. *Kīriś chid hi tvām avaso juhāva īśānam Indra saubhagasya bhūreḥ | aro babhūtha śatam-ūte asme abhixattus tvāvato varūtā |*

“3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Before thee the cows (waters) have turned their course, like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], knowing all things salutary to men, has with his weapons pierced the works of these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has destroyed them by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, o puissant [deity], adorations with ordinances (?). May the glorious [Indra] triumph over the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the *śiśna* (membrum virile) approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, o Indra, hast surpassed in power. When thou runnest thy

course, the worlds have not comprehended thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have imparted (?) to thee powers to [augment] thy divine glory and energy. Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra to bestow food. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, the protector of the warrior who serves thee."

R. V. x. 99, 1 ff.—*Kaṁ naś chitram ishanyasi chikitsān priṭhu-gmānaṁ vāśraṁ vācṛidhadhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso vyushṣṭau tazad vajraṁ Vṛittra-turam apinvat |* 2. *Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāma pri-thum yonim asuratvā 'sasāda | sa sanīlebhiḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na rite saptathasya māyāḥ |* 3. *sa vājaṁ yātā apadushpadā yan svarikātā parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya vedo ghnān śiśnadecās abhi varpasā 'bhūt |* 4. *Sa yahvyo avanīr goshu arcā ā juhōti pradhanyām sasriḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso 'rathā drony-āśvāsah īrate ghrītaṁ vāḥ |* 5. *Sa Rudrebhir āsasta-vārah ṛibhvā hitvi gayam āre-acadyaḥ ā agāt | ramasya manye mīthunā vivavri annam abhītya arodayat mushāyam |* 6. *Sa id dāsāṁ tuvi-ravam patir dan shaḍ-axaṁ tri-śirshānāṁ damanyat | asya Trīto nu ojasā vridhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayā han |* 7. *Sa druḥvaṇe manuse ūrdhvasānāḥ ā sāvishad arśasānāya śarum | sa nṛīta-mo nahusho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhīnad arhan dasyu-hatyē |* "What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, the wise, send to us for our increase! What a share of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the Vṛittra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Desiring to bestow strength in the struggle, that warrior has besieged inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the *śiśna*, he by his force conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The noble steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth flowing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. To the liberal [god] belong, I believe, two

varied horses. Having approached the food, he roars, desiring to appropriate it. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped finger. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus)."³¹⁸

The following is Sāyana's explanation of the word *śiśnadeva* in the first of the preceding passages, R. V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: *Śiśna-devāḥ | śiśnena divyanti kṛṇḍanti iti śiśna-devāḥ | abrahmacharyyāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Yāskah | "śiśna-devā abrahmacharyyāḥ" | "Śiśnadevāḥ are those who sport with the śiśna (membrum virile), i.e. unchaste men; as Yaska says, 'Śiśnadevāḥ means the unchaste.'Schwanz-götter*.

It does not appear to me that Sāyana's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word *deva* forms the last member of the compound, as *anṛita-deva* (vii. 104, 14) and *mūra-deva* (vii. 104, 24). Sāyana explains *mūra-devāḥ* as = *māraṇa-kṛḍāḥ*, "those who make a sport of killing;" and he therefore takes *deva* there in the same sense as he does in *śiśna-deva*. But in the other word, *anṛita-deva*, he takes *deva* in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (*anṛitā asatya-bhūtā devā yasya tādṛiṣaḥ*). In the same way he understands *anti-decam* in R. V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Boethlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *anṛita-deva* is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sāyana gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word *deva*. Nor does the sense assigned by Sāyana to *śiśna-deva* appear to be in itself a very probable one.

³¹⁸ Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages

For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R. V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4, and x. 86, 16, 17). On the other hand, if the word *śiśna-deva* is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words *akarmaṇ*, *adevayā*, *anrich*, *anindra*, *anya-vrata*, *apavrata*, *avrata*, *abrahman*, *ayajvan* | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 374, 375, and 387-391.

It is, however, objected that *śiśna* cannot be taken as equivalent to *liṅga*, which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the *śiśna* denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. *Śiśna* has also the sense of "tail," as in R. V. i. 105, 8, pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words *mūṣho na śiśnā vyadanti mā ādhyah* mean "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word *śiśnadevāḥ*, if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the *śiśna*." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word *dasyu*, viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 380 ff; 404 ff.) recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of *śiśna-deva*, that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word *yātavaḥ* (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word *śiśnadeva* does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the Tenth Vol. of his *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the Second Part of this work (pp. 436 f.),

Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity." In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume) on the destruction of Daxa's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Siva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of this assertion in regard to the worship of Siva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the South. In note 116, p. 370, of his Ninth Vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvana, had a golden serpent for his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Rākṣasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kānda it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Siva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kānda to which Gorresio refers, occurs, in the Calcutta edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kānda, vv. 18 f., as follows:

Tishṭha teaṁ kim mahārāja śrameṇa tava vānarān | ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit pramathishyati | anena cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam | ishṭvā yajñam varo labdho loka parama-durlabhaḥ | "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This one Indrajit will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered the unequalled sacrifice to Mahādeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 243 ff.) by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship

of Mahādeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not Śiva alone whom the Rāxasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (cited above in p. 140) that Rāvana had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā.

The same is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvana's sons, in Rāmāyaṇa vi. 71, 31 f. (Calc. ed.):

*Etenārādhito Brahmā tapasā bhāvitātmanā | astrāṇi chāpy acāptāni
ripavaś cha parājitāḥ | surāsurair abadhyatvaṁ dattam asmai Svayam-
bhuvā |* By this contemplative (Rāxasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras."

In verse 26 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and an observer of the Vedas" (*ṛiddha-sevī śruti-dharaḥ*). Rāvana himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 (Calc. ed.=vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.) his minister, Sa-pārśva (Avindhya³¹⁹ in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: *Veda-vidyā-vrata-snātas sva-kurva-
niratas tathā | striyāḥ kasmād badhaṁ vira manyase Rāxaseśvara |* "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvana, lord of the Rāxasas, who art initiated in the knowledge and practices of the Veda, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?" And Vibhīṣaṇa, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 24, Calc. ed.=vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): *Eśho hitāgnis³²⁰ cha mahātapaś cha vedānta-gaḥ karmasu chāgrya-
śūrah |* "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read to the end of the Veda, and was eminently heroic in action."³²¹

Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), that Rāvana was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rāxasa-brahmans (*Rāxasa-dvijāḥ*).

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Chitāṁ chandana-kāṣṭhaiś*

³¹⁹ He is called Avindhya in the Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parva of the Mahābhārata also, vv. 16148, 16492-6, and elsewhere.

³²⁰ *Eśho hitāgnir ity ārshaḥ sandhiḥ |* Comm.

³²¹ And yet Vibhīṣaṇa abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), vv. 93 ff.

cha padmakosīra-chandanaiḥ | brāhmyā ³²³ *saṁvarttayāmāsū rāṅkavāsta-
raṇāvritām | prachakrū Rāxasendrasya pitrimedham anuttamam | vedīṁcha
daxiṇāprāchi(m?) yathā-sthānāṅcha pāvakam | priṣhadājyena sampūrṇaṁ
śruvaṁ skandhe prachixipuḥ | pādayoḥ śakaṭam prādād (?) antar ūrṣor
ulūkhalam | dāru-pātrāṇi sarvāṇi arāṇi chottarāraṇi | dattvā tu
musalāṁ chānyaṁ yathā-sthānaṁ vichakramuḥ | śāstra-dṛṣṭena vidhinā
maharshi-vihitena* ³²³ *cha | tatra medhyam paśuṁ hatva Rāxasendrasya
Rāxasāḥ | paristarāṇikāṁ* ³²⁴ *rājño ghṛitāktāṁ samaveśayan | gandhair
mālyair alaṅkṛitya Rāvaṇaṁ dīna-mānasāḥ | Vibhīṣhaṇa-sahāyās te vas-
traiś cha vibidhair api | lājair avakiranti sma vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā
tadā | sa dadau pāvakaṁ tasya vidhi-yuktaṁ Vibhīṣhaṇaḥ | snāte
chaicārdra-vastreṇa tilān darbha-vimiśritān | udakena cha sammīśrān
pradāya vidhi-pūrvakam |* ³²⁵ "They formed, with Vedic rites, a funeral
pile of faggots of sandalwood, with *padmaka* wood, *uśira* grass, and
sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed
an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rāxasa prince, placing the
sacrificial ground to the S.E. and the fire in the proper situation. They
cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder³²⁶ (of the
deceased); he (?) placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between
the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and

³²³ *Veda-mūrgānugata-kriyayā* | Comm.

³²³ *Kalpa-sūtra-kṛid-ṛishi-vihitena* | Comm.

³²⁴ *Paristīryate mukham anayā iti paristarāṇikā vapū | tām rāxasendrasya mukhā
samaveśayan | "vapū 'sya mukham prastīryoti" iti sūtrāt* | Comm.; who seems
therefore to understand *paristarāṇikā* of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred
to in note 325). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explana-
tion which the reader may consult for himself.

³²⁵ I insert here part of Gorresio's text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): *Tatas te
veda-vidvāṁsas taṁ rājñāḥ paśchimāṁ kriyāṁ | chakrire rāxasendrasya preta-
medham anuttamam | vedīṁcha daxiṇā-prāchyāṁ yathā-sthānaṁ cha pāvakam |
Vibhīṣhaṇas tu samprāpya tūṣṇīm samasṛjāt śruvaṁ | priṣhadājyasya sampūrṇān
śruvaṁ sarvān yathāvidhi | Rāvaṇasya tadā sarve vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā devyāḥ |
pādayoḥ śakaṭam chakrur antarorōv ulūkhalam | vānaspatyāṇi chānyāṇi antare 'pi
vyadhāpyan | dattvā tu mushalāṁ chaiva yathāsthānaṁ mahātmanaḥ | śāstra-
dṛṣṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena cha | tataḥ paśchāt paśuṁ hatvā rāxasendrasya
rūxasāḥ | athāstarāṇikāṁ sarvaṁ ghṛitāktāṁ samaveśayan |*

³²⁶ "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator) it should have been placed
on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other
sūtras" (*yadyopi "nāsike śruvaṁ" ity Āpastambenoktaṁ tathāpi sūtrāntarāt skandho-
paniṣepaḥ śruvasya bodhyah*). Compare Professor Müller's article on the funeral
ceremonies of the Brahmins in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for
1855, pp. vi. ff.

lower firewood (*arava*), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rākṣasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Śāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the noverlet of the king saturated with ghee. They then, Vibhishana included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvana with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain. Vibhishana having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form *tila* seeds mixed with *darbha* grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile]."²²⁷

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rākṣasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio's edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvana, there is anything, except the "Rākṣasa texts," contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Calc. ed.) in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the *Nikumbhila* as being offered to Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length :²²⁸

²²⁷ On this whole passage the commentator remarks : "*Tatyajau tam mahābhāṅgaṁ pañcha-bhūtiṁ Rāvaṇam | śarīra-dhātavo hy aṣṭa mātṛa-śreṇ-rudhīrāṇa cā | brahmāstra-nirḍapāḥaya (sic) na cā bhāṣmāpy adṛīyata*" *iti Mahābhārata-kṛtāreṇa haṣṭa Vālmīkiṇi śmaśānāyana-pūrvaka-dūha uktaḥ iti cenna | tasya Rāma-vāṇa-varyana-cūḥaye 'tyukty-alekhāra-paratēnd iti vadati* | "Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Kāmopākhyāna, in Vana-parva 16529 f., where the readings differ somewhat from those here given) that 'the five elements and the constituents of his body, flesh, skin, blood, and breath, forsook the great Rāvana, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (*brahmāstra*), and not even any ashes were seen ;'—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmīki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt ? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma's arrow the Mahābhārata makes use of ornament and exaggeration."

²²⁸ The Calcutta edition gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows : *Brahma-datta-varo viro Rāvaṇiḥ krodha-mūreḥhitaḥ | adṛīḥya nīlitū vāṇān mumochāśani-sannibhān* | "The son of Rāvana, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, piercing as lightnings." No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Calcutta text. In Rāmāyana, book v. sect. 24 (Calc. ed.), it is related that the female Rākṣasas had been threatening Sita after her capture by Rāvana, because she would not yield to his desires, and one of

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—*Indrajit tu tatas tena saṁyuge*
'dbhuta-kārīnā | nirjito Bālī-putreṇa krodhaṁ chakre sudārunam | so
'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇi rāṇa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhīlāyāṁ vidhi-vat
Pāvakaṁ juhuve 'stra-vit | juhvas tasya tatrāgnau raktoshnīshāmbara-
srajaḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntā Rāxasā yatra Rāvaṇiḥ | śastrāṇi śita-
dhārāṇi samidho 'tha vibhītakān | lohitāni cha vāsāmsi sruvaṁ kārshāya-
saṁ tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāstīryya śaraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ | chhāgala-
syāpi krishṇasya kaṇṭhād ādāya jvataḥ | sonitāṁ tena vidhivat sa juhāva
raṇotsukaḥ | sakṛd eva samiddhasya vidhūmasya mahārchishah | babhūvuh
saṁnimittāni vijayaṁ yāny aveḍayan | pradaxiṇāvartta-śikhas tapta-
hāṭaka-sannibhaḥ | havis tat pratijagrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthitah |
tato 'gnimādhyād uttasthau kāṇchanaḥ syandanottamaḥ | chaturbhiḥ kāṇ-
chanāpīḍair āsvair yuktaḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | antardhāna-gataḥ śrīmān
dīpta-pāvaka-saprabhaḥ | hutāgnim tarpayitvā cha daitya-dānava-rāxa-
sān | vāchayitvā tataḥ svasti prayuktāśir dvijātibhiḥ | āruroha rathaṁ
śreṣṭham antar-dhāna-charaṁ śubham | sva-vaśyair vājibhir yuktaṁ
śastraiḥ cha vividhair yutam . . . 50. Jāmbūnadamayo nāgas taruṇāditya-
sannibhaḥ | babhūvendrajitaḥ ketur vaidūryya-samalaṅkṛitaḥ | Hutvā
'gniṁ Rāxasair mantrais tato vachanam abravīt |

“But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-work-
 ing son of Bālī, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son
 of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation
 to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was
 there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, gar-

them, S'ūrpanakhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 46 ff.): *Surā chānīya-*
tāṁ zipraṁ sarva-śoka-vināśinī | mānuṣhaṁ māṁsam āsvādya nṛityāmo 'tha nikum-
bhīlāṁ | “And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all griefs. Enjoying
 human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhīlā.” The comment on this passage states
 that the *Nikumbhīlā* was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Laṅkā (*Nikum-*
bhīlā nāma Laṅkāyāḥ pāschima-bhāga-varttinī Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛityāmaḥ tat-saṁ-
paṇḁ gatvā nṛityāmaḥ). In the Uttara Kāṇḍa (sect. 30, v. 2) we are told that Rāvaṇa,
 with his attendants, entered “the Nikumbhīlā, a grove in Laṅkā” (*tato nikumbhīlā*
nāma Laṅkopavamaṁ uttamam). The commentator says it was “a wood situated at
 the western gate of Laṅkā for the performance of rites” (*Laṅkā-pāschima-dvāra-*
deśā-vartti-karma-siddhi-hetu-bhūtaṁ-kāṇanam |). His son Indrajit, with the aid
 of the Brahman Uśanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the *agnishōma*,
āśvamedha, *rōjasūya*, *gomedha* (cow-sacrifice), the *Vaishṇava* ceremonial, etc. When
 he had performed the *Māheśvara* offering, he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who
 appeared to him. This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 349. But he had
 also been performing the *Vaishṇava* rite,

ments, and girded, the reverent Rākṣasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ball of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, dirt, and iron mass and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire smoke which portended victory. Pāṇḍava himself rising with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments. The glorious (Indrajit), lustrous as burning fire, becoming invisible, having extingished the sacrificial fire, the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākṣas, having caused a benediction (*vaṣṭi*) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmanas, ascended the beautiful chariot, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. 50. A golden serpent, bright as the rising sun, and adorned with *lapis lazuli*, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rākṣas teeth, he then spoke," etc.

The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhishana in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Cale. ed.—vi. 63, 13 of Gorr. ed.):

*Chakṛaś cāśvathānāḥ adya grīṇya hamañ karishyati | Hutaḥ
 apāto hi dānir aṇi sa-nānuḥ | duriddhārāḥ bhavaty aha saṅgrāḥ
 Bhṛāṣṭhāśāṇaḥ | 16. Sa-saṅgyā tatra gachhāma yāat tanna saṁ-
 gṛāṇa | 23. Saṁgṛāṇa-karmā hi sa Rākṣasasabho bhavaty adṛiṣṭaḥ
 saṁsa sa-nānuḥ | saṅgṛāṇa tana saṁgṛāṇa-karmāḥ bharet saṅgṛāṇa aṇi
 saṁgṛāṇa saṁgṛāṇa |* "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he
 will offer an oblation (*homa*). When he approaches after making this
 offering, this son of Ravana is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . .
 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed.
 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,²² that prince of the
 Rākṣasas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even
 the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight."

In the following section Vibhishana returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Cale. ed.—vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

Tena cireṇa tapasā vara-dānāt vrayambhuraḥ | aṣṭram brahma-śiraḥ

²² It is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 35, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe.

*prāptaṁ kāmagaś cha turāṅgamāḥ | sa esha saha sānyena prāptaḥ kīla
nikumbhilām | yady uttiṣṭhet kṛitam karma hatān sarvāṁś cha viddhi
naḥ | nikumbhilām asaṁprāptam akṛitāgniṁ cha yo ripuḥ | tvām ātatā-
yinaṁ hanyāt Indrasātro sa te badhaḥ |* "This hero has obtained through
austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called *brahma-śiras*,
and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has
reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his cere-
mony you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee,
thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,³³⁰
and kindled the fire, this, o enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy
death," etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14 f., Calc. ed.=65, 12
Gorr.) that they arrived before his rite had been completed :

*Scam anikaṁ viṣaṇṇaṁ tu dṛiṣṭvā śatrubhir arditam | udatiṣṭhata
durdharṣaḥ sa karmaṇy ananusthite | vṛizāndhakārād nirgamyā jāta-
krodhaḥ sa Rāvaṇiḥ | ityādi |* "Hearing that his army was harassed by
their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rāxasa) arose while his
ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the
tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot," etc.

Again, in a passage of the *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, or Fifth Book, vv. 12
ff. (only found in Gorresio's, not in the Calc. ed.), which forms the
sequel to the one given above, p. 310, Mahādeva is represented as
receiving Vibhīṣaṇa with favour, after he had deserted his brother
Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent
Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rāxasas, he might have
been expected to have described this deity as repaying their worship
with an especial favour and affection ; but it is inconsistent with this
that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from
the Rāxasa camp.

³³⁰ Explained by the commentator as *nikumbhilām tad-yōga-bhūmim mahākālī-
xetram tad-ākhyā-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam* | "that sacrificial ground, the sacred pre-
cinct of the great Kālī—viz., the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This tree
is mentioned in vi. 87, 1 ff., Calc. ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . *pravīṣya tu
mahad vanam | adarīyata tat-karma Laxmanōya Vibhīṣaṇaḥ | nīla-jīmūta-saṅkā-
śaṁ nyagrodham bhīmadarīṇam | tejasvī Rāvaṇa-bhrūtā Laxmanōya nyavedayat |
ihopahāram bhūtānām balavān Rāvaṇātmanajah | upahṛitya tataḥ paicāt saṅgrāmam
abhicartate | adṛīyaḥ sarva-bhūtānām tato bhavati Rāxasaḥ | nihanti cha raṇe
śatrin badhnāti cha śarottamāḥ | tam apraviṣṭam nyagrodham inam tvām Rāvaṇ-
ātmanajam | vidhvāṁsaya śarais tīṣṭair ityādi |*

There is a section (the forty-first) of the *Yudha Kāṇḍa*, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio's ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Viṣṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Viṣṇu's worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. If the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, it was of course necessary to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākṣasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Śiva.³³¹

SECT. VIII.—*The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Śiva.*

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the *Vājasaneyi Sanhitā* (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the *Talavakāra* or *Kena Upanishad*. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer's translation in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, vol. xv. p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose

³³¹ It is also related in the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4-8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākṣasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Laṅkā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Viṣṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* 36, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races.

of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain who this object of veneration was. When, in answer to Brahma's enquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2): *Atha Indram abruvan "Maghavann etad vijānīhi kim etad yaxam" iti | "tathā" iti tad abhyadravat tasmāt tirodadhe |* 12. *Sa tasminn evākāṣe striyam ājagāma bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm | tām hovācha kim etad yaxam iti |* iv. 1. *Sā Brahmeti hovācha Brahmano vā etad-vijaye mahīyadhvam iti | tato haiva vidāñchakāra Brahmeti |* "They then said to Indra, 'Maghavan, ascertain what this object of adoration is.' He replied, 'So be it;' and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umā Haimavatī. To her he said, 'What is this object of adoration?' She said, 'It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, ye became exalted.' By this he knew Brahma."³³²

In his remarks³³³ on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.) Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umā. He says: "The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and

³³² This is explained by the commentator: *Tasyendrasya yaxe bhaktim buddhva Vidyā Umā-rūpīnī prāduraabhūt strī-rūpā | sa Indras tām Umām bahu śobhamānām sarveśhām hi śobhamānānām śobhanatamām Vidyām tadā "bahu śobhamānā" iti viśeshanam upapannam bhavati | Haimavatīm hema-kṛitābharāṇavatīm iva bahu śobhamānām ityarthah | athavā Umaiva Himavato duhitā Haimavatī nityam eva sarvajñena Īśvareṇa saha varttate iti jñātuṃ samarthā iti kṛtvā tām upājagāma Indras tām ha Umām kilovācha paprachha kim etad darsayitevā-tirobhūtam yaxam |* "Knowing Indra's devotion to this object of adoration, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umā, appeared. Indra [came] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet 'very resplendent' is then established. 'Haimavatī' means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Umā Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Īśvara (Mahādeva) is able to know. Thus Indra approached Umā, and said to her, 'What is this object of adoration which appeared and vanished?'"

³³³ Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

Sūrya,³³⁴ who had come to be regarded as the representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R. V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahma (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

“But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahmā and the gods? According to Sankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umā-rupinī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyana, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150) when interpreting the word *soma*, cites this passage, and remarks: *Himavat-putryā Gauryyā brahma-vidyābhimāni-rūpatvād Gauri-vāchaka Umā-śabho brahma-vidyām upalaxayati | ata eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyā-mūrtti-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrttiḥ paṭhyate “bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm tāṁ hovācha” iti | tad-vishayaḥ tayā Umayā saha varttamānatvāt Somaḥ |* “Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: ‘He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī.’ Soma is he who has reference to her from his existing together with her. And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 38, it is said: *Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha varttamāna Soma paramātmān |* ‘Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, o Soma, supreme spirit,’ etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term *Ambikā-pataye*, we have the words: *Ambikā jagannātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bhartre |* ‘Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,’ etc.; and the word *Umapataye* (which stands in the Draviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text

³³⁴ See above, p. 134.

of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: *Tasyā eva brahma-vidyātmako deha Umā-śabdenocyate tasyāḥ svāmino* | 'Her (Ambikā's) body representing divine knowledge is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,' etc. This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which,—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad,—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression *Umā-sahāya* in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 304) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the Commentaries in other places also³³⁵ explain *soma* by *Umayā sahita*, 'accompanied by Umā' (as Sāyaṇa has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyaṇa, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (*i.e.* partly from the unanimity of the Commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting *brahma-vidyā*, 'divine knowledge,' and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connection with the sacred word *om*. There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with Himavat? Is it that the *brahma-vidyā* (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushītakī Brāhmana (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (*vāchaṁ śīṛī-tum*) and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful vallies of the Himālaya, than was possible for men living in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavatī appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For,—not to say that

³³⁵ *e.g.* Mahīdhara on Vaj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding part of the Taitt. Sanhitā.

in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element,—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (*brāhma-vidyā*); and moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the *Taitt. Ār.*) would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. *Pārvatī*, which would lead us in interpreting the word *Haimavati*, to place the emphasis not upon the *Himavat*, but upon the mountain (*parvata*): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the *Satarudriya* (see above, p. 268), *Giriśa*, *Giriśanta*, *Giriśaya*, *Giritra*, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Śiva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called *Pārvatī*, *Haimavati*, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;²⁰⁶ and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (*Ind. Stud.* i. 183). Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see *Mahādhara* on *Vaj. S.* 3, 5,—just as Rudra was called Śiva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root *u*, *ar*, 'to protect.' It

²⁰⁶ Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way *Sarasvatī* also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called *Ambitāmā*, is addressed with the word 'Amba,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (*uttame iikkhara jātā parvata-mūrdhani*). According to this view, *Umā* and *Sarasvatī*, *Ambikā* and *Ambitāmā*, *Pārvatī* and the *parvata-mūrdhani jātā*, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the *Kena Upanishad* and, on the other hand, in the *Varadā* of the *Taitt. Ār.* two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with *Sarasvatī*." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connection of Umā and *Sarasvatī* to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the *Rāmāyaṇa* i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 366) Umā is the younger, while the river *Gangā* is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J. M.]

is true that a final vowel before *ma* commonly takes *guṇa*, or is lengthened, but the words *sīma* and *hīma* shew that this is not necessary, and the name of *Rumā* is perhaps (unless we derive it from *ram*) a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the *Kena Upanishad* as the mediatrix between the supreme *Brahma* and *Indra*, for on that supposition this *Upanishad* would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the *Īśvara*, and thus also as *Brahma*; *i.e.* it would belong to the period of some *Saiva* sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of *Umā* as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the *Kena Upanishad*, unless indeed the original identity of *Umā* with *Sarasvatī*, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

"I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of *Siva's* spouse. As in *Siva*, first of all two gods, *Agni* and *Rudra*, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,³³⁷ and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as *Umā*, *Ambikā*, *Pārvatī*, *Haimavatī*, belong to the wife of *Rudra*, others, as *Kālī*, *Karālī* (see *Ind. Stud.* i. 287) carry us back to the wife of *Agni*, while *Gaurī* and others perhaps refer to *Nirṛiti*, the goddess of all evil.

"The Tenth Book of the *Taittirīya Aranyaka*, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (*Ind. Stud.* i. pp. 75 and 228³³⁸). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of

³³⁷ "The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in *Mahābhārata* iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of *Yudhishtira* to *Durgā*, where he calls her *Yaśodā*, *Kṛishṇā*, 'born in the cowherd family of *Nanda*,' 'sister of *Vāsudeva*,' 'enemy of *Kansa*,' and 'having the same features as *Sankarshana*,' etc. etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable."

³³⁸ In the first of these passages (*Ind. Stud.* i. 75) the author remarks that the *Nārāyaṇīya Upanishad* (the part of the *Taitt. Ar.* in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the *Upanishads* of the *Atharva-veda*, "but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the *Taitt. Ar.*, viz. *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārīm*

the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārī³³⁹ dhīmahi | tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt |* "We think on Kātyāyana (ul?) and meditate on Kanyākumārī; may Durgī advance us."

. . . Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyana puts into it,³⁴⁰ and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads. All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz., Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shaṇmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Nārasiṃha, Aditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Śiva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards *Kātyāyanī* this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmans, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of

dhīmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārīṃ dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |* This agrees with the sense which Sāyana, in his interpretation, puts on the words." In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the Third Vol. of this work, p. 161, this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārīṃ dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |*

³³⁹ The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given *Kanyakumarim* as the proper reading.

³⁴⁰ Sāyana's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: *Paśchād Durgā-gāyatrī | "Hema-prakhyōm indu-khaṇḍāṅka-maulīm" ity āpama-prasiddha-mūrtti-dharāṃ Durgāṃ prārthayate "Kātyāyanāya" iti |* *Ḍṛṣṭvā vāste iti Kātyo Rudraḥ | . . . sa evayānam adhiṣṭhānam yasyāḥ sū Kātyāyanī athavā Kātyāya rishi-viśeṣasya apatyāṃ Kātyāḥ | . . . Kutsitam anishṭham mārayati iti Kumārī kanyā dīpnyamānā chānu kumārī cha Kanyākumārī | Durgīḥ Durgā |* *lūp-gāḍi-cyatrayāḥ sacetra chhāndaso drashṭavyāḥ | . . .* "Then follows Durgā's gāyatrī. In the words 'Kātyānāya,' etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the sāstras 'as having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.' Rudra is Kātya, he who wears a skin . . . and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, 'shining,' and Kumārī, is Kanyākumārī. Durgī is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas.

the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karālī, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. *Kanyākumārī*, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, *i.e.* of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Śiva? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taitt. Ār. (Andhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting *Durgā* with the sacrificial fire. "It is there said³⁴¹ in the second verse: *Tām agnivarṇāṁ tapasā jvalantīm vairochanīm karma-phaleshu juṣṭām | Durgāṁ devīm śaraṇam aham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ |* ("I seek as my refuge the goddess *Durgā*, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who delights to [bestow?] the rewards of rites: adoration be to thy energy, o impetuous [goddess]"). The five following verses repeat (as does also the *Durgā-stava* in the Parisiṣṭa) the same thought, which is also expressed in R. V. i. 99,³⁴² that Agni would help the suppliant over all *durga* and *durita* (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified *Durgati* (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus *Durgā* would have arisen out of *Nirṛiti*. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all *durga* and *durita*, is a *durgā*, a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as *Ambikā*, *Śiva*, *Umā*. If at a later period *Durgā* decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess *Nirṛiti*, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shews that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of *Śiva* bore a terrific character both from her connection with *Rudra* and also with *Agni* (compare *Karālī*).

"The last name of *Śiva's* consort which I find in the *Taittirīya*

³⁴¹ "This verse is also found in the *Durgā-stava* of the *Rātripariśiṣṭa* between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth *Ashtaka* of the R. V." (*i.e.* between *Maṇḍala* x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

³⁴² "This verse is as follows: *Jātavedase sunavāma somam arātīyato nidahāti vedaḥ | sa naḥ parśad āti durgāṇi viśvā nāveva sindhuṁ duritā 'tī Agniḥ |*

Āṅgaka I. is Varadī, in anuv. 34 (=Deśn. 26) and 35 (=Deśn. 30). It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said: *Āyāta varadī devī anuram brahmac-cumitā | gāyatrī cāhāndasā mātā idā (?) brahmac jñāhara me | . . . sarva-narā mahādevī sandhyā-cūḍya Sarasvatī* |³⁰² But the words in anuv. 36 are not so clear: *Uttare śikhare jātā bhāgyām parvata-mārdhāni | brāhmacchūḍya 'bhāgyāntā gaccha devī gathāntāham | stute (=stutā) mayā varadī vake-mātā prachodayatī paṇase devjātā,*³⁰³ etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pūrvaṭī and Haimavātī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort of Śiva. The other names, however, *sarva-narā*, *cāhāndasā mātā*, *vake-mātā*, and finally *Sarasvatī* itself conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 34-36. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umī Haimavātī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 360, note 336.¹⁷

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in an important passage of another of the Upanishads (the Maṇḍuka I. 2, 4), but they are there appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: *Kālī Karālī cha Manojacā cha Suloḥitā yā cha Sudhānrasarvā | Sphulingīnī Fīcarūpī cha devī lalāyamānā iti sapta jñācāḥ* | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one),

³⁰² The sense of these words is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadī) come: do thou, mother of the Vedas, receive with favour the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, this my prayer, o thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī."

³⁰³ The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmins, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc.

Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarṇā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks : *Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmra-varṇā Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānā dahanasya jīhvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthā etāḥ sapta jīhvāḥ |* "Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter."

On this passage Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i, 286 f.): "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Śiva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since we find the latter in the drama of 'Mālatī-Mādhava,' by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shewn in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78." In a note Weber adds: "The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like Śiva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Śiva is the more recent."

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 317, 324), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daxa, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daxa's sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl.)—*Sailendro Himavān nāma dhātunān ākara mahān | tasya kanyā-drayaṁ jātāṁ rūpenāpratimam bhuvī | yā Meru-
dhitā Rāma tasya mātā sumadhyamā | nāmnā Menā manojūā vai patnī
Himavataḥ priyā | tasyāṁ Gangayā abhavarj jyeshthā Himavataḥ sutā |
Umā nāma dvitīyā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava | . . . 19. Yā chānyā
Saila-dhitā kanyāsid Raghunandana | ugraṁ sū vratam āsthāya tapas
tpe tapo-dhanā | ugreṇa tapasā yuklām dadau Saila-varaḥ sūtam |
Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umām loka-namaskṛitām | Ity ete Saila-rājasya
sute Rāma bōbhūratuḥ | Gangā cha saritām śreshthā devīnām chāpy Umā
varā |* "To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals,
two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The
daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of
Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gangā,
the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called
Umā. . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere
observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of
severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity,
adored by the worlds, the Chief of mountains gave to the matchless
Rudra. These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains,
Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of
goddesses."

The Harivaṁsa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā,
which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns
three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gangā is not
included :

*Eteshām mānosī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgīrēḥ | patnī Himavataḥ
śreshthā . . . 943. Tisraḥ kanyās tu Menāyām janayāmāsa Saila-rāt |
Aparnām Ekaparnām cha tritīyām Ekapāṭalām | tapas charantyaḥ su-
mahad duṣcharaṁ Deva-Dānavaiḥ | lokān samtāpayāmāsus tās tisraḥ
sthānu-jangamān | āhāram eka-parṇena Ekaparnā samācharat | pāṭalā-
pushpam ekām cha ādadhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā
pratyashedhayat | "u mā" iti nishedhantī mātṛi-sneheṇa duḥkhitā | sū
tathoktā tada mātṛā devī duṣchara-chārīṇī | Umety evābhavat khyātā
trishu lokeshu sundarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharmīnī |
etat tu trikumārikāṁ jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava | tapas-śarīrās tāḥ sarvās
tisro yoga-balānvitāḥ | sarvās cha brahma-vādīnyaḥ sarvās chaivordha-
retasaḥ | Umā tāsām varishthā cha jyeshthā cha vara-varnīṇī | mahāyoga-*

*balopetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Asitasyaikaparnā tu Devalasya mahāt-
manah | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhimate | Jaigīshavyāya
tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapātālām |*

940. "Their (the Pitṛis') mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz., Aparnā, Ekaparnā, and Ekapātālā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparnā ('One-leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapātālā took only one pātālā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparnā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u mā* ('o don't'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by?] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparnā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the *Yoga*. And know that Ekapātālā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigīshavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā, which, as has been mentioned in p. 170, he uttered at the suggestion of Kṛishṇa:³⁴⁵

M. Bh. Bhīṣma p. vv. 796 ff.—*Arjuna uvācha | namas te Siddha-
senāni āryye mandara-vāsini | Kumāri Kālī Kāpālī Kapile Kṛishṇa-
pīṅgale | Bhadrakālī namas tubhyam Mahākālī namo 'stu te | Chāṇḍī
Chāṇḍe namas tubhyam Tūrinī Varavarṇini | Kātyāyani mahābhāge Karālī
Vijaye Jaye | śikhi-pichha-dhvaṇa-dhare nānābharaṇa-bhūṣhite | aṭṭa-śūla-
praharane khadga-khetaka-dhārini | gopendrāsyānuje jyeshṭhe Nanda-
gopa-kulodbhave | Mahishāṣṛik-priye nityaṁ Kauśiki pīta-vāsini | aṭṭa-
hāse koka-mukhe namas te 'stu rāṇa-priye | Ume Sākambhari Svete Kṛishṇe*

³⁴⁵ The Bhagavadgītā, in which Kṛishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhīṣma-parva, vv. 830 ff.

Kaṭabha-nāṣini | Hiranyāxi Virūpāxi Dhūmrāxi cha namo 'stu te |
Veda-śruti mahāpunye brahmany Jātavedasi | Jambū-kaṭaka-chaityeshu
nityaṁ sannihitālaye | tvam brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha
dehinām | Skandha-mātar bhagavati Durge kāntāra-vāsinī |
Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā chaiva kalā kāshṭhā Sarasvatī | Sāvitrī Veda-mātā
cha tathā Vedānta uchyate (uchyase?) | stutā 'si tvam Mahādevi viśud-
dhenāntarātmanā | Jayo bhavatu me nityaṁ tvat-prasādād ranājire |
kāntāra-bhaya-durgeshu bhaktānām pālaneshu cha | nityaṁ vasasi pātāle
yuddhe jayasi dānavān | tvam Jambhanī Mohinī cha Māyā Hriḥ Sris
tathaiva cha | Sandhyā prabhāvatī chaiva Sāvitrī Jananī tathā | Tushṭiḥ
Pushṭir Dhṛitir Dīptiḥ chandrāditya-vivardhinī | bhūtir bhūtimatām
saukhye vīxyase siddha-chāraṇaiḥ |

“Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Krishna-pingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakālī; reverence to thee, Mahākālī; reverence to thee, Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍā; reverence to thee, o Tārīṇī (deliveress), o Varavarnīnī (beautiful-coloured), o fortunate Kātyāyanī, o Karālī, o Vijayā, o Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding sword and shield, younger daughter [or sister] of the chief of cowherds, eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kauśikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, o Umā, Sākambharī, thou white one, thou black one, o destroyer of Kaitabha. Reverence to thee, o Hiranyāxī, Virūpāxī, Dhūmrāxī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), o Vedaśruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to (. . . ?) mountain-ridges, and places of sacrifice. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, o mother of Skanda, divine Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāshṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvatī,³⁴⁵ Sāvitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pātāla, thou con-

³⁴⁵ Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Sarasvatī, above, p. 360, note, and p. 364.

stantly dwellest, and conquerest the Danavas in battle. Thou art Jam-bhanī (destroyer ?), Mohinī, Māyā, Hṛī, Srī, Sandhyā,³⁴⁷ the luminous, Sāvitrī, the mother, Tusṭi (contentment), Pusṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be].”

In another part of the Mahābhārata, Virāṭa-parva, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 361, note) addressed by Yudhishtira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to “have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims” (*Vindhya chaiva naga-śreṣṭhe tava sthānaṁ hi śāsvatam | Kālī Kālī Mahākālī sīdhu-māṁsa-paśu-priye |*).

In the Harivaṁsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devakī’s offspring, Viṣṇu descended into Pātāla, where he sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of time); and promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devakī. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśiki, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Viṣṇu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (*tatraiva tvām bhaginy-arthe grahishyati sa Vāsavaḥ | Kuśikasya tu gotreṇa Kauśikī tvam bhavishhyasi*³⁴⁸ | *sa te Vindhya naga-sreṣṭhe sthānaṁ dāsyati śāsvatam | ityādi |*). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been “uttered by rishis of old,” beginning *Nārāyaṇīm namasyāmi devīm tribhuvaneśvarīm* | “I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṇī,

³⁴⁷ See above, p. 364.

³⁴⁸ Kauśika is applied as an epithet to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11. See the First Vol. of this work, p. 82, note 50.

the mistress of the three worlds." She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna's hymn (above, p. 367 ff.), such as *Srī*, *Dhṛiti*, *Kīrtti*, *Hrī*, *Sandhyā*, *Kātyāyanī*, *Kauśikī*, *Jayā*, *Vijayā*, *Tusṭi*, *Pushṭi* (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (*jyeshthā Yamasya bhaginī*, v. 3271); and said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] Savaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (*Savarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjitā*, v. 3274). She is also said to be fond of wine and flesh (*surā-māṃsa-priyā*, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (*surā-devī*, v. 3286), to be Sarasvatī in Vālmīki (comp. p. 360), and Smṛiti (memory) in Dvaipāyana, i.e. Vyāsa (*Sarasvatī cha Vālmīke Smṛitir Dvaipāyane tathā*), and to pervade the entire world (*trayā vyāptam idam sarvaṃ jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam*).

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaishnavas) under the protection and patronage of Viṣṇu.

A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa, is also to be found in *Harivaṃsa* vv. 9423; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Kṛishṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyaṇa" (*anantam azayaṃ divyam ādi-devaṃ sanātanam | Nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛitya*, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (*rishiḥhir daivataiś chaiva vāk-pushpair architām śubhām*, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Viṣṇu (*Mahendra-Viṣṇu-bhaginīm*, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): *Brahmā Viṣṇuś cha Rudraś cha chandra-sūryāgni-mārutāḥ | kritsnaṃ jagad idam proktaṃ devyā nāmānukīrtanāt |* "Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess."

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the *Devī-māhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Viṣṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called *Mahāmāyā* (the great Illusion), *Yoganidrā* (the Sleep of meditation), etc.

It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): *Nityaiva sã jagan-mũrttir tayã sarvã idam tatam | tathãpi tat-samutpattir bahudhã srũyatãm mama | devãnãm kãryya-siddhy-artham avirbhavati sã yadã | utpan-noti tadã loka sã nityã 'py abhidhĩyate* | "She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out: and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born." The narrative then proceeds, that when Vishnu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (*Yoganidra*) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmã; when the latter seeing Vishnu asleep, with the view of arousing him began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidra, "his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction;" (*Harĩ-netra-kṛitãlayãm | viśveśvarĩm jagaddhãtrĩm sthiti-sãmhãra-kãrinĩm | nidrãm bhagavatĩm Viśnuh |*). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): *Tvayaiva dhãryyate sarvãm tvayaitat sriyyate jagat | tvayaitat pãlyate devi tvam atsy ante cha sarvadã |* "By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end." Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): *Yachcha kũchit kvachid vastu sad asad vã 'khlãtmake | tasya sarvasya yã śaktiḥ sã tvam kim stũyaso tadã | yayã tvayã jagat-srashtã jagat-pãtã 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi nidrã-vaśãm nĩtaḥ kas tvãm stotum iheśvaraḥ | Viśnuḥ śarĩra-graḥaṇam aham Īśãna eva cha | kãritãs to yato 'tas tvãm kaḥ stotum śaktimãn bhavet |* "Thou art the power (*śakti*) of whatever substance, existent or nonexistent, anywhere is, o thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishnu, and me (Brahmã), and Īśãna (Śiva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?"

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha:

Mãrk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—*Sakrãdayaḥ sura-gaṇã nihate 'tivrĩyye tasmin durãtmani surãribale cha devyã | tãm tushṭvayã prãṇati-namra-śirodharãmsã vãgbhiḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-chãru-dehãḥ | devyã yayã*

*tatam idaṁ jagad ātma-śaktyā niḥśeṣa-deva-gaṇa-śakti-saṁūha-mūrttyā |
tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pūjyām bhaktyā natāḥ sma vīda-
dhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananta
Brahmā Haraś cha na hi vaktum alam balañcha | sā Chāṇḍikā 'khila-
jagat-paripālāṇyā nāśāya chāśubha-bhayasya matiṁ karotu |* "When
the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and
the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with
their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies
beautified by horripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] words:
'We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who
stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated
the various energies (*śakti*) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all
the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chāṇ-
ḍikā, whose majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishṇu),
nor Brahmā, nor Hara (Śiva) is competent to express, think upon the
preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to shew the dignity to which this goddess
has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and
a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with
the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc.
(pp. 306, 314 ff., 366 f.), will shew that she has now attained a far
higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by
the daughter of Daxa and Himavat.

APPENDIX.

Page 5, line 1.

Ārambhāṇam. Compare the words *anārambhāṇe tamasi* in R. V. vii. 104, 3.

Page 10, line 14.

Mārttaṇḍam. Compare R. V. ii. 38, 8. . . . *viśvo mārttaṇḍo vrajam ā paśur gāt* . . . which the commentator explains, "every bird and beast goes to its resting place."

Page 19, v. 23.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upani-
shad (p. 228 ff.): *Ādityo Brahma ity ādetaḥ | tasyoparyākhyānam |*
asad ecedam agre āsit | tat sad āsit | tat samabhavat | tad āṇḍam
niravaritata | tat saṁvatsarasya mātṛm āsayata | tad nirabhid-
yata | to āṇḍa-kapāle rajataṁ cha suvarṇam cha abhavatām | tad
*yat rajataṁ sā iyam prithivī yat suvarṇam sā dyaur yaj jarāyu*¹
*te parvatā yad ulvāṁ*² *sa megho nihāre*³ *yā dhāmanayas*⁴ *tā nadyo yad*
*vāsteyam*⁵ *udakaṁ sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas*
*taṁ jūyamānam ghoshā ulūlavo*⁶ *'nudatiśṭhan* [*'nūdatiśṭhan* ?] *sarvāṇi*
*cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam*⁷
prati ghoshā ulūlavo 'nutiśṭhanti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva
kāmāḥ | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mitra : "The

¹ *Garbha-veshṭanam āsthulam* | Comm.

² *Sūzmaṁ garbha-pariveshṭanam* | Comm.

³ *Avaiyāyah* (frost) | Comm.

⁴ *S'ivāḥ* | Comm.

⁵ *Vastau bhavam vāsteyam* | Comm. "Abdominal," Wilson.

⁶ *Ururavo vialirṇa-ravā udatiśṭhana utthitavantaḥ* |

⁷ *Pratyasta-gamanam . . . athavā punaḥ punaḥ pratyāgamanam*

sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. The roof of the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of 'ulu-ulu'], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day] of the sun, arise shouts of 'ulu-ulu,' as well as all living beings and their desires." (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

Page 23, line 30.

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taittiriya Aranyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (*varāheṇa kṛishṇeṇa śata-bāhunā nādhrītā*).

Page 29, line 8.

In the Uttara Kāṇḍa, also, of the Rāmāyaṇa (4, 9, Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prajāpatiḥ purā śriṣṭvā apaḥ salīla-sambhavaḥ | tāsāṃ gopāyaṇaṃ sattraṇaṃ aśrijat padma-sambhavaḥ* | "The lotus-born Prajāpati, sprung from the waters (or, the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;" who from their agreeing to protect the waters, were called Rāxasas (from the root *raṣ*, "to protect").

On this verse the commentator remarks: "*Apaḥ śriṣṭvā*" *bhūmer adho-varttinir apaḥ śriṣṭvā ity arthaḥ | tatra "salīla-sambhavaḥ" Prajāpatir abhūd ity ananyaḥ | . . . tathā "apo vā idam agre salīlam asti tasmā Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā 'charat | sa imām apasyat tām Varāhe 'bhūtvā 'harat" iti śruteṣu* | "Having created the waters: the sense is, having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the 'water-born' Prajāpati arose,—such is the connection." He then quotes Manu i. 8 f. (see p. 26 above), and another text from the Veda, and afterwards goes on: ". . . and from the Vedic text, 'this universe was formerly waters, water. In it Prajāpati becoming wind, moved. He beheld this earth: becoming a boar, he raised her.'"

In the Kishk. K. of the Rāmāyaṇa, 43, 54 ff. (Calc. ed.), Brahmā (in the masculine) is identified with the soul of the universe: *Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Soma-girir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān |* 55. *Sa tu deśo viśūryyo 'pi tasya bhāsā prakāśate | sūryya-laxmyā 'bhivijñeyas tapateva vivasvatā |* 56. *Bhagavāns tatra viśvātmā Sambhur eko daśātmakah | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahma-marshi-parivāritaḥ | na kathañchana gantavyaṁ Kurūṇām uttareṇa cha | ityādi |* "Beyond that chief of mountains (in the land of the northern Kurus) is the northern ocean. There in its centre is the great golden Soma-giri (mountain of Soma or the Moon). That region, though sunless, shines by the lustre of that [mountain], and is recognizable by a sun-like splendour, as if the sun were shining. There the divine soul of the world, Sambhu, one, but tenfold, Brahmā, dwells, the god of gods, attended by the rishis. You must by no means go beyond the Kurus."

The commentator remarks on v. 56: *Viśvaṁ samati vyāpnoti iti viśvātmā vyāpakah | tena Viśṇu-rūpaḥ | Viśṇu-vyāptāv ity anusārāt sa eva Sambhuḥ śam bhavaty asmāt | sa evaikādaśānucākārthaikādaśa-rudrātmakah | sa cha Brahmā brāhmaṇatvāj jagat-sraṣṭrītēvād evaṁ-rūpa-trayātmā bhagavāns tatra Soma-girau kāryya-brahma-lokatēvād vasatīty arthaḥ |* "He who pervades all things,—is the soul of all things, the pervader. He is therefore in the form of Viśṇu. Since Viśṇu pervades, he is consequently Sambhu, he from whom happiness arises. He is the subject of the eleven anuvākas, and exists in the form of the eleven Rudras. [The commentator must therefore read *ekādaśātmakah* in the text. Gorresio's edition reads *bahudhātmakah*.] And this divine being, [called] Brahmā, from his character of Brahmā, i.e. from his being the creator of the world, existing in these three forms, dwells on that Soma-giri, from its being the created *Brahma-loka* [?]." I subjoin for comparison the passage as given in Gorresio's edition:

Kishk. K. 44, 117 ff.—*Kurāṁs tām samatikramya uttaro payasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṇmaya-samo mahān | Indra-loka-gatā ye cha Brahma-loka-gatās cha ye | sarve te samavaixanta giri-rājaṁ divaṁ gatāḥ | asūryyo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāsāḥ prakāśate | sasūrya iva laxmivāns tapatīva divākare | bhagavāns tatra bhūtātmā svayambhūr bahudhātmakah | Brahmā bhavati caśyātmā sarvātmā sarva-bhāvanah |*

Page 56, line 23.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sītā after she had been carried off by Rāvana, which is given in the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Viṣṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of the original meaning of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54 ff. (Calc. ed.)^a—*Tataḥ paraṁ hemamayāḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divaṁ sprīṣṭvā śata-yojanam āyatā | jātarūpamayī divyā virājati sa-vedikā | . . . 57. Tatra yojana-vistāram uchhritaṁ daśa-yojanam | śringaiḥ Saumanasam nāma jātarūpamayaṁ dhruvam | 58. Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛtvā purā Viṣṇus trivikrame (trivikramaḥ Gorr.) | dvitīyaṁ śikhare Meroś chakāra puruṣhottamaḥ | 59. Uttareṇa parikramya Jambūdvīpaṁ divākaraḥ | drīṣyo bhavati bhūyishṭhaṁ śikharaṁ tad mahochhrayam (drīṣyo bhavati bhūtānām śikharam tam upāsritaḥ | Gorr.) 54. "Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . 57. There with its pinnacles stands the firm, golden Saumanasa, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Viṣṇu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;" (or, 'he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak.' Gorr.).*

The commentator does not throw much light on the matter in his remarks on v. 58: *Tatra śata-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare tatra Saumanase śringe trivikrame tribhiḥ padais triloky-ākramaṇa-prastāve prathamam padam Meroś śikhare chakara |* On v. 59: *Athānantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpam parikramya tam mahochhrayaṁ śikharam Saumanasākhyam prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-varttinām bhūyishṭham drīṣṭvā bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity arthaḥ | idam satya-yugābhiprāyaṁ tretāyāṁ xīra-sāgara-madhya-gasya dvāpare sūroda-madhya-gasya kalau Lankā-madhya-gasya Jambūdvīpa-sṭha-manushya-drīṣyatāyā anyatroktatvāt |* "On this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas

^a Gorresio has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.

lofty, on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Vishṇu] placed his first step on the summit of Meru." [Some words would seem to be left out here, as the commentator now contradicts the text, and says nothing of the second step.] On v. 59 he remarks: "Afterwards when the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that dvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambudvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lankā."

The three steps of Vishṇu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in book vi. 39, 22 (Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prāsādaiścha vimānaiś cha Lankā parama-bhūṣita | ghanair ivātapāpāye madhyamaṁ Vaishṇavam padam* | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Vishṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Vishṇu by *ākāśa*. This passage may refer either to the original, or to the legendary, sense of Vishṇu's steps.

Page 146, line 29.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3 of the First Book, as given in the Calcutta edition and in Schlegel's, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rama; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio's edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 18 (Calc. ed.), Rāma is described as "resembling Vishṇu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon." The former epithet would imply that he was not Vishṇu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus

on the expression : *Vaiṣṇo Rāma Viṣṇor eva sarva-rūpaś cha tatāpi mānuṣyopādhi-bhaktiḥ sarvatra vācyaḥ* | *dravīḍaṅgama* | *gaurā Viṣṇuḥ* | *andriā ity anuwayillankūreḥ* | "Although Rāma was no other than Viṣṇu, still from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (*anuvayillankūre*)."² See Professor Goldstücker's Dictionary under this word.

In the text, pp. 142-145, following Schlegel and Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel's edition, has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. The edition lately published in Calcutta, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel's, omits vv. 5-11 of the section in question (the fourteenth) as given in Schlegel's; and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Viṣṇu to become incarnate in the sons of Daśaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Calcutta edition the words *pītarāṁ rochayimāḥ tadā Daśaratham nripam* ("he accepted as his father the king Daśaratha") which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 145 f., I have given the account of the birth of Daśaratha's sons according to Schlegel's edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Calc. ed. and in Gorresio's:

[Calc. ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]

8. *Tato yajño samāpta tu rītā-
naṁ śaṭ samatyayuh* | *tataś cha
dvādaśe māse chaitre nāvamike ti-
thau* | 9. *Naxatre 'diti-daivatyo
svochcha-saṁstheshu pañchasu* | *grah-
eshu karkate lagne Vākpatāv Indunā
saha* | 10. *Prodyamāno jagannā-
thāṁ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam* | *Kau-
śalya 'janayaḍ Rāmaṁ divya-lax-
aṇa-saṁyutam* | 11. *Viṣṇor ardham
mahābhāgam putram Aixvāku-nan-*

[Gorr. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

10. *Tāṁ prajayāre putrāś chat-
cāro'mita-tejasaḥ* | *Rāma-Laxmaṇa-
Satrugṇa-Bharatā deva-rūpiṇaḥ* |
11. *Janma-tejo-guṇa-jyeshṭham pu-
tram apratimaujasaṁ* | *Kauśalya
'janayaḍ Rāmaṁ Viṣṇu-tulya-pa-
rākramam* | 12. (almost the same
as v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. *Bha-
vāya sa hi lokānāṁ Rāvaṇasya ha-
dhāya cha* | *Viṣṇor cīryyārdhato
yajño Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ* | 14.

danam | lohitāxam mahābāhuṁ raktoshṭham dundubhi-svanam | 12. Kausalyā śusubhe tena putreṇā-mīta-tejasā | yathā vāreṇa² devānām Aditir Vajrapāninā | 13. Bharatō nāma Kaikeyyām jajñe satya-parākramah | sākṣād Viṣṇoś chaturbhā-gaḥ sarvaiḥ samudīto guṇaiḥ | 14. Atha Laxmaṇa-Satrughnau Sumi-trā 'janayat sutaḥ | vīrau sarvāstra-kuśalau Viṣṇor arddha-samanvitau | 15. Pushye jātas tu Bharatō mīna-lagne prasanna-dhīḥ | Sārpe jatau tu Saumitri kulīre 'bhyudīte ravau | 16. Rājñah putrā mahātmānaś chat-vāro jajñire prīthak | guṇavanto 'nurūpāścha ruchyā prosthāpado-pamāḥ |

Tejo-vīryyādhikah śuraḥ śrīmān guṇa-gaṇākaraḥ | bābhūvānavarāś chaiva Sakrād Viṣṇoś cha pau-ruṣhe | 15. Tathā Laxmaṇa-Sātru-ghnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutaḥ | dṛiḍha-bhakti mahotsāhau Rāma-syāvarajau guṇaiḥ | 16. Tāv apy āstām chatur-bhāgau Viṣṇoḥ sam-piṇḍitāv ubhau | eka eka-chatur-bhāgād aparasmād ajāyata | 17. Bharatō nāma Kaikeyyāḥ putraḥ satya-parākramah | dharmātmā cha mahātmā cha prakhyāta-bala-vikra-mah | 19. Sa chaturbhīr mahābhā-gaiḥ putraiḥ Daśaratho vṛitah | bābhūva parama-prīto devair iva Pitāmahaḥ | 20. Teshām ketur iva śreṣṭho Rāmo loka-hite rataḥ | Ścayambhūr iva devānām sarveshām sama-darśanaḥ |

[Calcutta edition.]

[Gorresio's edition.]

8 ff. "After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,—Kausalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies,

After naming Dasaratha's wives, the narrative proceeds :

10. "To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Laxmaṇa, Satrugna, and Bhara-ta, in fashion like the gods. Kausalyā brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Viṣṇu. 12. (=v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Viṣṇu's generative

² I do not know what *vāreṇa* means, if this reading be correct. Perhaps we should read *vareṇa* or *avareṇa*. The other editions have *adhipena*.

the half of Vishṇu, and gladdener of the race of Ixvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kauśalyā received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyī, who was manifestly the fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaṇa and Satrugṇa, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu.¹⁰ 15. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under Śarpa or (the ninth lunar mansion) when the sun had risen in Cancer. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā." power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvaṇa.¹¹ 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu. 15. So too Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaṇa and Satrugṇa, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. These two also, combined, were derived from the fourth part of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power and energy. . . . 19. Dasaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Pitāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Svayambhū among the gods, and impartial to all."

The Calcutta edition has not the verse which is found as the *fifth* in Schlegel's edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio's, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its *eleventh* verse (which is not in Schlegel's edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 146 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel's edition, applies to this recension also—viz., that the verses which refer

¹⁰ This verse though not in the Calcutta edition, is to be found in Schlegel's as the *fifth*.

¹¹ Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.

to Dasaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishnu might be omitted with little injury to the connection. The account of Bharata, Laxmana, and Satrugna, given in vv. 13-15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Laxmana and Satrugna, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Dasaratha's sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem.¹² The *twelfth* verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra, and also the *fourteenth* verse (Gorr.) in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishnu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], could scarcely have formed part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was described, as it would not exalt the reader's conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth vol., as follows: "This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the *avatāra* of Vishnu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishnu, and consequently Vishnu himself in a human form, the epithet *not inferior to Vishnu* which is here assigned to him has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered."

Again, it is related in the Aranya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio's edition, that when the Rāxasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: *Tato devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhās cha saha chāraṇāiḥ | ūchuḥ parama-santrastā guhyakōś cha paraspam | chatur-dāśa sahasrāṇi raxasām bhīma-karma-*

¹² Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (vol. i. Preface, p. lii).

*nām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathāṁ yuddham bhaviṣhyati | Rāmo no
vīdīto yo 'yaṁ yathā cha vasudhāṁ gataḥ | manushyatvaṁ tu matvā 'sya
kāruṇyād vyathitam manaḥ | nardantīva chamūs teshāṁ raxasāṁ kāmā-
rūpiṇām | nānā-vikṛita-veśānāṁ Rāmāśramam upāgamat |* "Then the
gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being
greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: 'There are fourteen
thousands of Rāxasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma
is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who this Rāma
is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature,
our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rāxasas,
who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises,
has approached the hermitage of Rāma, shouting.' "

In the Calc. ed. iii. 23, 19 ff., however, the words ascribed to the
gods, etc., are quite different: *Tuto devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha
saha chāraṇaiḥ | sameyuścha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kāṇḍayā | 20.
Ṛishayaś mahātmāno loka brahmarshi-sattamāḥ | sametya chochuḥ sahitās
te 'nyonyam punya-karmanāḥ*¹³ | 21. *Seasti go-brāhmaṇānāṁcha lokā-
nāṁ cheti saṁsthitāḥ*¹⁴ | *jayatām Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyān rajanī-
charān | 22. Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-pungavān | evam
uktvā puṇaḥ prochuḥ ālokyā cha paraspam | 23. Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi
raxasāṁ bhīma-karmanām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathāṁ yuddham
bhaviṣhyati | 24. Iti rājārshayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇāś cha devīarshabhāḥ |
iṭa-kautūhalās tasthur vimāna-sthās cha devatāḥ | 25. Āviṣṭāṁ tejasā
Rāmaṁ saṅgrāma-śirasi sthitam | dṛiṣṭvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhayād
viviyathire tadā | 26. Rūpaṁ apratimaṁ tasya Rāmasyāklīṣṭa-
karmanāḥ | babhūva rūpaṁ kruddhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmanah |
..... 35. Tasya ruṣṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya dadṛiṣe tadā |
Daxasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatasya Pinākinah*¹⁵ | "19. Then the
great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the
great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis assembled in the world,
eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings
thus spoke to one another: 21. 'Blessings be upon cows and Brahmins,
and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rāxasas, the

¹³ *Adīrghatvam ūrṣham |* Comm.

¹⁴ I do not see how these words are to be interpreted; but they are of no consequence.

¹⁵ This verse as given in Gorresio's edition will be found above, p. 313, note.

descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṇu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rāxasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together?' 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishis, with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like the form of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinākin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa."

From a comparison of these passages as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Calcutta edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishṇu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rāxasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Calc. ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Laxmaṇa were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvana.

In the following citations I shall use the Calcutta edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: *Rāma-Laxmaṇayor eva sarva-deha-bhidaḥ śarāṇ | bhṛīṣam āveśa-yāmāsa Rāvaṇiḥ samitiñjayah | nīrantara-śarīrau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Laxmaṇau | kruddhenendrajitā vīrau pannagaiḥ śaratām gataiḥ | tayoh zata-ja-mārgena sūerāva rudhiram bahu | . . . 16. Baddhau tu śara-bandhena tāv ubhau raṇa-mūrdhani | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na śekatur aveṣitum | 22. Papāta prathamam Rāmo viddho marmasu mārgaṇaiḥ |*

In the next section (the forty-seventh) it is related that Rāvana sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Raxasī Trijaṭā, to the spot where Rāma and Laxmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, "powerful as the sons of the gods" (*deva-suta-prabhāvau*, v. 24), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in which she alludes to the two brothers having had various divine weapons (but says nothing of their divine nature). Though they resembled Vāsava (Indra), they were slain, she says, by the magic of the invisible foe; and Fate, she adds, is hard to be overcome (vv. 16 ff.: *Nanu Vārunam Āgneyam Aindraṁ Vāyavyam eva cha | astram Brahma-śiraś chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | adṛśyamānena raṇe māyayā Vāsavopamau | nihatau | 19. Na Kālasyaṭi-bhāro 'sti kṛitāntaś cha sudurjayah |*). Sītā is then consoled by the Raxasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: *Nemau śakyau raṇe jetuṁ sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | tādrīśaṁ darśanam dṛiṣṭvā mayā chodīritam tava | idaṁ tu sumahach chitraṁ śaraiḥ paśyasva Maithilī | visañjñau patitāv etau naiva Laxmī vimuñchati | prāyeṇa gata-sattvānām puruṣhānām gatā-yushām | dṛiṣyamāneṣu vaktreṣu param bhavati vaikṛitam |* "These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight (vision?) I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Laxmī) does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives and whose breath has departed."

While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): *Etasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata viryyavān | sthīratvāt satya-yogāchcha*¹⁸ *śaraiḥ sandāmito 'pi san |* "In the meantime the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame (?), though he had been overcome by the arrows." He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Laxmaṇa, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: *Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaiḥ*).

In sect. 50, Vibhīshana laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of

¹⁸ *Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt |* Comm. Gorresio's edition reads *sattva-yogāchcha*.

becoming king of Laṅkā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): *Rājyāṃ prāpsyasi dharma-jña Laṅkāyām neha saṁśayaḥ | Rāvaṇaḥ saha putreya eva-kāmaṁ neha lapyate | Garuḍādhiḥ-ṭhihitāv etāv ubhau Rāghava-Lakṣmaṇau | tyaktvā moham badhishyate sa-gaṇaṁ Rāvaṇaṁ raṇe* | "Thou, o [prince], well-skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Laṅkā; but Rāvana and his son shall not attain the object of their desire." He adds another prophecy: "Both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are superintended by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvana with his hosts." Sugrīva, however, proposes to remove Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from the scene of action to Kishkindhyā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvana, and bring back Sitā, as Indra recovered the lost Śrī (24 f.: *Saha śūraiḥ hari-gaṇair labdha-sañjñāv arindamaṁ | gacchā teṁ bhṛātarau grihya Kishkindhyām Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau | ahaṁ tu Rāvaṇaṁ hatvā sa-putraṁ saha-bāṇdhavam | Maithilīm ānayishyāmi Sakro naktām iva Śrīyam* |).¹⁹

Sushena, another of the monkeys, then relates (vv. 26-32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Vṛihaspati by herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring those herbs. The Calcutta edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. But in Gorresio's text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Calcutta edition:

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11*.—*Athainam upasaṅgamyā Vāyuḥ karṇe vacho 'bravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānaṁ smara vai hṛidā | Nārāyaṇas teṁ bhagavān Rāzasārthe 'catāritaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujāṁ devaṁ Vainateyam mahābalaṁ | sa sarpa-bāṇdhād ghorāt tu yuedāṁ sammochayishyati | sa tasya vacchanaṁ śrutevā Rāghavo Raghu-nandanāḥ | sasmātra Garuḍaṁ devaṁ bhujagāṇāṁ bhayātaham* | "Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine

¹⁹ In Gorresio's edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27-41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Calcutta edition.

Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rāxasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrifier of serpents.'

The omission of these verses in the Calcutta edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions, Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as enquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, *i.e.* summoned him. The verses in which this is shewn are as follows (Calc. ed. 50, 37 ff.): *Tam āgatam abhipreṣya nāgās te vipradudruvuh | yais tu tau purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaib | tataḥ Suparnaḥ Kakutsthau sprishtvā pratyabhinandya cha | vimamarśa cha pāṇibhyām mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena saṁsprishtās tayoḥ samrururur*²⁰ *vraṇāḥ | suvarṇe cha tanū snigdhe tayoḥ āśu babbhūvatuh | 40. Tejo vīryam balaṁ chauja utsāhaścha mahā-guṇaḥ | pradarsanaṁ buddhiścha smṛtiścha dviguṇā tayoḥ | tāv utthāpya mahā-tejā Garuḍo Vāsavopamau | ubhau cha sasvaje hrishṭau Rāmaś chainam uvācha ha | bhavat-prasādād vyasanaṁ Rāvaṇi-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyatikrāntau śighraṁ cha balināu kṛitau | yathā tātaṁ Daśa-rathaṁ yathā 'jaṇcha pitāmahaṁ | tathā bhavantam āśādyā hṛidayam me prasīdati | 44. Ko bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-erag-anulepanaḥ |* "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound (or, wounded), took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra, who were delighted; and Rāma thus addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted

²⁰ *Yathā-pūrvam saṁrūḍha-māṁsā abhūvan |* Comm.

by the son of Rāvana, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou,²¹ distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?' etc.

The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is represented as enquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the serpents. He finally assures him that he should slay Rāvana and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: *pradaxiṇaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā parishvajya cha*).²²

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi. sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rāxasas, Mandodarī, Rāvana's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): *Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathātmajaḥ | ekena yena vai pūrvam bahavo rāxasā hatāḥ |* "Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rāxasas have

²¹ In his remarks on vv. 40, 41 of the Calc. ed. the commentator considers it necessary to explain how what is there said is consistent with Rāma's divine character: *Dviguṇā Vainateya-sparśāt pūrvato 'py adhikā | atra anyair devair avatīryya bha[ga?]vato Rāmasya mūla-mūrtteḥ rājñāḥ upakāraḥ sampādito Garuḍena tūhyarūpata eva iti bodhyam |* . . . "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered to the divine king Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but [this was effected] through Garuḍa in an inferrible (?) manner." In his remarks on v. 44, the same commentator says: "*Ko bhavōn' ity ayam praśno 'pi manushya-śarīrochita-vyavahāra eva tat-satyatva-pratyāpanārthaḥ | atra Rāma-samīpā-gamana-paryantam paśy-ākāreṇaiva āgatya sannidhi-mātreṇa nāga-ban-dhanañcha nirasya Rāghava-sparśanādy-artham (?) antam puruṣhōkārēṇa vyavahritavān iti bodhyam |* "This question 'who art thou?' also conforms to the usage suitable [to Rāma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodates to Rāma's human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa's] approach, [including] his appearance in the form of a bird, and his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, up to his touching Rāma," etc.

²² From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: *Pradaxiṇaṁ kṛtvā iti anena dieya-devatāvatōro Rāmaḥ iti |* "By these words 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated that Rāma was a divine being, an incarnation of a celestial deity."

been slain." The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur, is not, however, to be found in the Calcutta edition, which omits verses 7-51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Calc. ed.) it is related that Laxmaṇa was wounded by Rāvana with a dart given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105-7); but that when Rāvana tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): *Himavān Mandaro Merus trailokyam vā sahāmaraiḥ | śakyam bhujābhyām uddharttuṁ na saṅkhye Bharatā-nujaḥ | śaktyā brāhmyā tu Saumitris tādīto 'pi stanāntare | Viṣṇor amīmāṁsya-bhāgam ātmānam pratyānusmaran* | "Himavat, Mandara, Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata in battle. But Laxmaṇa, though smitten on the chest with the dart given by Brahmā, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Viṣṇu." Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Viṣṇor bhāgam amīmāṁsyam ātmānam pratyānusmaran*. Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio's edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88, are *Viṣṇor achintyo yo bhāgo mānusham deham āsthitāḥ* | "The inconceivable portion of Viṣṇu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions.

In the same sect. (59, Calc. ed.) it is related that Rāvana was defeated by Rāma, and compelled to return to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): *Sarvaṁ tat khalu ne moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tapaḥ | yat samāno Mahendrena mānushenāsmi nirjitaḥ | idam tad Brahmaṇo ghoraṁ vākyam mām abhyupasthitam* | "manushebh्यो vijānihi bhayaṁ team iti tat tathā | deva-dānava-gandharvair yazarūrasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānushēbh्यo na yāchitam" | *tam imam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmanjam | Ixvākukula-jātena hy Anaranyena²³ yat purā | utpatsyati hi mad-vaṁśe puruṣo*

²³ See Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 371: "Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anaranyā, who was slain by Rāvana in his triumphant progress through the nations" (*tato 'anaranyas | taṁ Rāvaṇo dig-vijaye jaghāna*). Here, and in the legend related in the Second Vol. of this work, p. 437, note 106, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Rāmāyaṇa, is referred to.

The story of Anaranyā is, however, told in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa,

*rāmādharma | yā teṣāṁ sa-putrāṁ sāmātyam sa-balaṁ sāṁsa-sārathin |
 mūlamiśṛpāṁ saṅgrāmaṁ teṣāṁ kulādharmaṁ durmate | śapto 'ham Vedavatyā
 cha yutāḥ sū dharakīlā parā | 11. Seyaṁ Sītā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nan-
 dīnī | Unā Nandīśvaraś cāpi Rambhā Varuṇa-kanyakā | yathoktā²⁴ ta
 mayā prāptāṁ na mūlhyā rishi-bhāṣitam | etad eva samāgamyā yataṁ
 karṣṇaṁ śārathīḥ |* "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone
 is then vain, since I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome
 by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached
 me, [when he said]: 'know that thy great cause of apprehension is
 from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas,
 Gandharvas, Yaksas, Rāksasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked
 no [security] from men.' This man I consider to be Rāma, the son
 of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anarāya of the
 race of Irāvā; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man who
 shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rāksasas, and wicked wretch,
 along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was
 also cursed by Vedavatī when she was insulted by me: it is she
 who has been born as the great Sītā, the gladdener of Janaka. And
 that which Umā, Nandīśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa²⁵
 uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis²⁶ is never
 falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions.'"

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference
 to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original

section 19. Dudyanta, Saratha, Gādhī, Gaya, Purūrasas (though, as the commen-
 tator remarks, they lived at different periods, yet they all in their own times) sub-
 mitted, without fighting, to Rāvaga on his victorious march through the world.
 Anurāya, a descendant of Irāvā, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon
 either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9);
 but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When
 Rāvaga triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished
 not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaga is only the instrument of his overthrow
 (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaga should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma
 (v. 29: *Uṣṇaspatyā kulā hy aṁśam Irāvākūṇām mahātmanām | Rāmo Daśarathīr nāma
 yas te prajāḥ karisyati*).

²⁴ *Yathoktāntaṁ . . . yad ūcyaṁ . . . iti pāṭhāntaram |* Comm.

²⁵ The legends connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the
 commentator.

²⁶ The commentator remarks here: *rishi-padaṁ tapo-yuktā ūchyante |* "The word
rishi denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavatī
 and others.

legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rāxasas.

[Most of the legends referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anaranya will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavatī is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows : Rāvana, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavatī, and is the vocal daughter (*vāṇmayī kanyā*) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaṇa, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, gandharvas, etc., she says, wished that she should choose a husband, but her father would give her to no one else than to Viṣṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12 : *Pitṛ tu mama jāmātā Viṣṇuḥ kila sureśvaraḥ | abhipretas trilokeśas tasmān nāsyasya me pitā | dātum icchati tasmai tu |*). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaṇa, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given) after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16) : *Tato manoratham satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomīti tam evāhaṁ hṛdayena samudvāhe | iti pratijñam āruhya charāmi vipulam tapaḥ | . . .* 18. *Nārāyaṇo mama pitir na tv anyah puruṣottamāt | āśraye niyamaṁ ghoram Nārāyaṇa-paripsayā |* "In order that I may fulfil this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart."²⁷ Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Puruṣottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance." Rāvana's passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful, shall become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Viṣṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn

²⁷ This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.

The legend of Rambhā is narrated in the thirty-first section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (*chazur-ādindriya-gaṇaṁ sarvaṁ* | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54. *Akāmā tena yasmāt teṁ balād bhadre pradhārshitā* | 55. *Tasmāt sa yuvatīm anyāṁ nākāmām upayōyati* | *yadā hy akāmām kāmārtto dharshayishyati yoshitam* | *murdhā te saptadhā tasya śakalibhavitā tadā* | "Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments." Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any story about the daughter of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus; *Varuṇa-kanyakā Puñjikasthālī tan-nimittam brahma-śāpaḥ strī-dharshaṇe maraṇa-rūpaḥ* | "The daughter of Varuṇa was Puñjikasthālī. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women."]

After expressing himself as above (p. 490), Rāvaṇa desires his brother Kumbhakarna (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,²⁹ slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarna asks (vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: *mānushān no bhayaṁ rājan tumulam sampradhāvitam* | *ityādi*); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Laxmaṇa. After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvaṇa; who, in answer to his enquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of

²⁹ See sect. 61, v. 28.

affairs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarna, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, vv. 2-21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Ravana's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents; and is told by Ravana in answer (vv. 23-27) that this is not the time for such lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarna then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarna, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of the same personage, which occupies vv. 30-53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Ravana which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Calcutta edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v. p. xlv. ; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some account must, however, be given of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarna gives the same account of the divine origin of Rama, as we have already met in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 139 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rāxasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. x. 40, 44 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Evam ukto tu vachane Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dattam deva-daityaiścha rāxasaiḥ | mānushēbhyo bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyaścha devatāḥ | surāsura-samūhe 'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād esha Harir devaḥ padma-nābhas trivikramaḥ | putro Daśarathasyāstu chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ | bhavanto vasudhām gatvā Viṣṇor asya mahātmanaḥ | vānarāṇām tanuṁ kṛitvā sahāyatvam karishyatha |* "When [the priest of the gods Vṛihaspati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: 'I have conferred [on Ravana] indestructibility by gods Daityas and Rāxasas: he has, o gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the gods or Asuras. Wherefore let this god Hari (Viṣṇu) from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Viṣṇu.'" Kumbhakarna

says that Vishṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sitā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Vishṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Ko 'sau Viṣṇur iti khyāto yasya teṣā tātā bibhīyase | devatve na namasye tam tathā 'nyān devatā-gaṇān | manūṣya-yaśm gate tasmin kim bhayam tvām upasthitam | nityam samara-bhī-tāstu mānushāḥ sumahābala | khādayitvā tu tām pūrvam katham paśchād namāmy aham | prajāmya mānusham Rāmam Sitām datvā tu tasya vai | hāsyā-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāsyāmi prishṭhataḥ | Rāghavam tam mahā-bāho dina-rūpo 'tha dāsa-vat | riddhiṁ cha paśyamāno 'sya katham ūz-yāmi jīvitum | hṛitvā tasya purā bhāryyām mānam kṛiteṣu sudāruṇam | pranamed Rāvaṇo Rāmam esha te buddhi-nirṇayaḥ | yadī Rāmāḥ teṣāṁ Viṣṇur Laxmaṇo 'pi Satakratuḥ | Sugrivas Tryambakaḥ sākṣāt teṣāṁ Brahmā tu Jāmbavān | aho śāstrāṇy adhītāni yasya te buddhir idṛiṣṭi | atitāśraminām Rāmam yo namaskarttum ichhasi | devatām yaḥ parityajya mānushīm yonim āśritaḥ | asmān hantum khilāyātāḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham mayā | yadivā Rāghavo Viṣṇur vyaktam te śrotam āgataḥ | devatānām hitārtham tu pravishṭo mānushīm tanum | sa vānarāṇām rājānam Sugri-vam śaraṇām gataḥ | aho 'sya sadṛiṣam sakhyam tiryagyoni-gataiḥ saha | vīryya-hīnas tu kiṁ Viṣṇur yaḥ śritaḥ rixa-vānarān | athavā vīryya-hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya yāchitas tripadaḥ padam | Balis tu dixito yajñe tena teṣā sakhyam ichhasi | yena dattā mahi sarvā sa-sāgara-vanāṇavā | upachāra-kṛitā pūrvam sa baddho yajña-dixitaḥ | upakārī hatas tena so 'smān raxati vairinaḥ | yadā me nirjitā devāḥ svargaṁ gatvā tvayā saha | tadā kim nāsti Viṣṇutvam tasya devasya Rāxasa | sāmpratam kuta āyātāḥ sa Viṣṇur yasya bibhīyase | śārīra-raxanārthāya brūshe tvām vākyam idṛiṣam | nāyam klīeyitum kālāḥ kālo yoddhuṁ niśāchara | svāmyam Pitamahāt prāptam trailokyam vaśa-gaṁ kṛitam | Rāghavam prajame kasmād hīna-vīryya-parākramam | tad gachha śayanīyam tvam piva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | śayamānam na hanyāt tvām Rāghavo Laxmaṇas tathā | aham Rāmam badhishyāmi Sugrivaṁcha sa-Laxmaṇam | vānarāṁścha hanishyāmi tato devān mahā-rāṇa | Viṣṇuṁchaiva badhishyāmi ye cha Viṣṇu-anuyāyinaḥ | gachha gachhasva tat xetram chiram jīva sukhī bhava | bhrātaram te evam ukteṣu 'sau Rāvaṇaḥ Kāla-choditaḥ | sāvalepaṁ sa-garjāṁcha punar vacanam abravīt | jānāmi Sitām dharaṇī-prasūtām jānāmi Rāmam Madhurū-*

*danañcha | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyas tenāhrītā me Janakātma-
jaishā* ³⁰ | *na kāmāchchaiva na krodhād dharāmi Janakātmajām | nihato
gantum ichhāmi tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padam |*

“Who is that being called Vishṇu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rāma, and restoring Sitā, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Rāghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rāma’s wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Rāvaṇa should bow down before him! Even if Rāma were Vishṇu himself, and Laxmaṇa were Indra, if Sugrīva were Tryambaka (Śiva), and if Jāmbavat were Brahmā, [I could not do so]. O thou hast [well] studied the Sāstras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rāma who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill me? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rāma is Vishṇu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugrīva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Vishṇu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura three paces of ground, while Bali was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friendship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies! When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Vishṇu? Whence has this Vishṇu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest such words to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rāxasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from

³⁰ A verse similar in most of its clauses to this had previously occurred in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio’s recension.

Indra; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink free from inquiet. Neither Rāma nor Lakṣmaṇa will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Lakṣmaṇa, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Viṣṇu too, and all Viṣṇu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and noise, Rāvaṇa said again: 'I know Sītā, who is sprung from the earth; I know Rāma and Maitrāsudana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Viṣṇu.'²¹

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The dealer of Viṣṇu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvaṇa's death, Mandodari, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband's loss, speaks as follows (sect. 113, 5 ff., Calc. ed.): *So tram mānuṣha-mātreṇa Rāmeṇa yudhī niryitāḥ | na vyapatrapaṇe rājeṇ kim idaṁ rūṣaseśvara |* 6. *Kathaṁ trailokyam ākrāmya īriyā cīryyena chāncitām | aśiṣahyaṁ jaghāṇa teṣāṁ mānuṣha caṇa-gocharaḥ |* 7. *Mānuṣhāṇāṁ aśiṣhaya charataḥ kāmā-rūpiṇaḥ | vināśas tava Rāmeṇa saṁyuge nopapadyate |* 8. *Na chaitat karma Rāmasya śraddadhāmi chamū-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava tenābhimarīṣaṇam |* 9. *Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ | māyāṁ tava vināśāya vidhāyāpratitarkitām |* 10. *Athavā Vāsavena teṣāṁ dharshito 'si mahābala | Vāsavasya tu kṛā śaktis teṣāṁ draṣṭum api saṁyuge |* 11. *Mahābalaṁ mahāvīryaṁ deva-śatrum mahaujasaṁ | eyaktam esha mahāyogi²¹ paramātmā sanātanaḥ |* 12. *An-ādi-madhyā-nidhano mahataḥ paramo mahān | tamasaḥ paramo dhātū śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ |* 13. *Śrīvatsa-vaxā nitya-krīr ajayyaḥ śāśvato dhruvaḥ | mānuṣhaṁ rūpam āsthāya Viṣṇuḥ satya-parākramaḥ |* 14. *Sarvair pari-ṣṛīto devair vānaratvam upāgataḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrīmān lokāṇām*

²¹ *Śvōbhāvika-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ |* Comm.

hita-kāmyayā | 15. *Mahābalaṃ mahāvīryaṃ deva-śatrum bhayāvaham* |
sa-rāśasa-parivāraṃ hatavāṃs tvāṃ mahādyutiḥ | 16. *Indriyāṇi purā*
jītvā jītaṃ tribhuvanaṃ tvayā | *smaraḍbhir iva tad vairam indriyair eva*
nirjītaḥ | 17. *Yadaiva hi Jana-sthāne Rāśasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ* | *Kharas*
tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāmo na mānuṣaḥ |

"5. Art not thou ashamed, o king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rāśasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (*Kṛitānta*) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra). But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast (11) the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? This was manifestly the great contemplator (*Mahāyogin*), the supreme spirit, the eternal, (12) without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the greatest, superior to darkness, the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (13) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Viṣṇu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (14) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys. This glorious and resplendent lord of all the worlds, desiring the good of all the worlds, (15) slew thee, the mighty, the heroic, the terrific, enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rāśasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou did subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, *i.e.* when thou didst carry off Sītā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rāśasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal."

If this quotation from the Calcutta edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio's text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5-8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of one verse (the

ninth affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio's edition, there are in the Calcutta recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio's edition are as follows: 9. *Athava dha-rūpaḥ* *Viṣṇuḥ* *et* *saṃsa* *śrīrāṃ* | *tena* *viṣṇuḥ* *saṃpādīḥ* *praviṣṭaḥ* *pālar-* *śīḥ* | 10. *Iti* *tena* *hi* *Janakīna* *vināśa* *śakāḥ* *vyatīḥ* | *Kharas* *tena* *hata* *hanta* *śakāḥ* *sa* *śakāḥ* | "Or Viṣṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into it unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Rama, attended by many Kharas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janakīna, Rāma is not a mere mortal." It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth) which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Calcutta edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio's text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10-15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth verse of the Calcutta text, which represents Death (Ārjūnā) as taking the form of Rāma, was more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Viṣṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 11 ff. of the Calcutta edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the eleventh and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma's divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Calcutta edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio's. Thus after verse 40 of the Calcutta edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio's, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Calcutta edition—verse 29 of Gorresio's, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio

omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvana is to be destroyed. After the Rāxasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament, they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff. Calc. ed.):

Rudro vā yadi vā Vishṇur Mahendro vā Satakratuḥ | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ | hata-pravīrā Rāmeṇa nirāśā jivite vayam | apaśyanto³² bhayasyāntam anāthā vilapāmahe | Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvaḥ śūro datta-mahāvaraḥ | idam bhayam mahāghoraṁ samutpannam na budhyate | taṁ na devā na gandharvā na piśāchā na rāxasāḥ | upasriṣṭam³³ parikrāntuṁ śaktā Rāmeṇa saṁyuge | utpātāśchāpi drīṣyante Rāvanasya rane rane | kathayanti hi Rāmeṇa Rāvanasya nivarhanam | Pitāmāhena prītena deva-dānava-rāxasaiḥ | Rāvanasyābhayaṁ dattam manusebhyo na yāchitam | tad idam mānusham manye prāptaṁ niḥsaṁśa-yam bhayam | jīvitānta-karaṁ ghoram raxasāṁ Rāvanasya cha | pīḍya-mānās tu balinā vara-dānena raxasā | dīptais tapoblir vibudhāḥ Pitāmaham apūjayan | devatānām hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahaḥ | uvācha devatās tushṭa idam sarvā mahad vachaḥ | adya-prabhṛiti lokāṁs trīn sarve dānava-rāxasāḥ | bhayena prāvṛitā nityaṁ vicharishyanti śāśvatam³⁴ | daivatais tu samāgamya sārvasiḥ Chandra-purogamaiḥ | vṛisha-dhvajas Tripura-hā Mahādevaḥ pratoshitah | prasannas tu Mahādevo devān etad vacho 'bravīt | utpatsyati hitārtham vo nārī raxaḥ-zayāvahā | eṣhā devaiḥ prayuktā tu xud yathā³⁵ dānavān purā | bhaxa-yishyati naḥ sarvān rāxasa-ghnī sa-rāvaṇān | Rāvanasyāpanītena³⁶ durcinitasya durmateḥ | ayaṁ nishṭhānako ghorah śokena samabhiplutah | Tanna paśyāmahe loka yo naḥ śaraṇa-do bhavet | Rāghavenopasriṣṭānām kāleneva yugaxaye | "Either Rudra, or Vishṇu, or Indra Satakratu, or

³² *Apaśyanto* 'paśyantyah ārshaḥ | Comm.

³³ *Upasriṣṭam* hantum ārabdham | Comm. Gorresio's edition has *paritrātum* instead of *parikrāntum*.

³⁴ This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.): *Adya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtā bhaya-varjitāḥ | bhayārttās te punar iha vicharishyanti rāxasāḥ.*

³⁵ The text reads *xud yathā*; but the Commentary has *xud yathā*. Possibly the proper reading is *xudhītā*, which Gorresio's edition has.

³⁶ *Apanītena anayena* | Comm.

Death himself slays us in the form of Rāma. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa) who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāma. Neither gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Piśāchas, nor Rāxasas, are able to deliver (?) him when assailed by Rāma in battle. Portents, too, regarding Rāvaṇa are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvaṇa security against gods, Dānavas and Rāxasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. This dreadful danger from men, has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall terminate the life of Rāvaṇa and the Rāxasas. The gods when oppressed by the Rāxasa (Rāvaṇa) who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 'From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rāxasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, overwhelmed with fear.' All the gods,³⁷ with Chandra (the Moon) at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three cities). He, being pleased, thus spake to them: 'For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rāxasas.' This female slayer³⁸ of Rāxasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvaṇa; as Hunger formerly³⁹ [devoured] the Dānavas. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvaṇa this dreadful destruction surrounded by affliction has come upon us. Therefore we see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages."

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted

³⁷ The commentator remarks here: *Evaṃ Brahmanāḥ prāsādāt sabhayaṭvam atra prāptam | saṃhārūdi-kṛita (?) Rudra-pradānaṃ tu nāśa evāsmākaṃ ity āhuḥ |* "Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but the further gift of Rudra, the causer of (?) destruction, etc., is that we shall be destroyed."

³⁸ According to the commentator. Gorresio's text has *Saishū daiva-prasādhā* *tanakātmanā*, etc.

³⁹ "Former Kalpa."—Comm.

above (p. 391 f.) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Could it have been one form of the legend that Sītā, and not Viṣṇu, was the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa?

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākṣasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu:

Āraṇya Kāṇḍa (or Third Book) 30, v. 27 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Sa papāta Khara bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śārāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ śvetāranya yathā 'ndhakaḥ | sa Vṛittra iva vajreṇa phenena Namuchir yathā | Balo vendrāśani-hato nipapāta hataḥ Kharaḥ | etasminn antare devās chārapaḥ saha saṅgatāḥ | dundubhīmśchābhiniḥnantāḥ pushpa-varṣaṁ samantataḥ | Rāmasyopari saṁhr̥ṣṭā vavarshur vismitās tadā | arddhādika-muhūrttena Rāmeṇa niṣitaiḥ śaraiḥ | chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi raxasāṁ kāma-rūpiṇām | Khāra-Dūṣhaṇa-mukhyānām nihatāni mahāmpidhe | aho vata mahat karma Rāmasya viditātmanah | aho vīryyam aho dārdhyaṁ Viṣṇor iva hi dṛṣṭyate | ity evam uktvā te sarve yayur devā yathāgatam |* "Burnt up by the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Andhaka who was formerly consumed by Rudra in the white forest. He fell like Vṛittra smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam,⁴⁰ or like Bala by the lightning of Indra. At this moment the gods, joined with the Chārakas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, rained on Rāma a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: 'In a muhūrta and a half (two hours) fourteen thousand Rākṣasas, changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūṣhaṇa, have been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. O what a mighty exploit of Rāma, sage in spirit (or, who knows himself)! O, his valour and his firmness are seen to be like those of Viṣṇu!' Having thus spoken, all those gods went as they came."

The writer of these verses could scarcely have regarded Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, or it would have been superfluous to compare him with that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the thirty-fifth) these verses are not given, but the several classes of rishis are introduced as [among other things] saying to Rāma (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were praising him with triumphal benedictions (*jayāśīrbhiḥ*), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva

⁴⁰ See above, p. 222, and note 201.

were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars," (*namaśchakre vimānasthān dṛiṣṭvā 'dūre divaukasaḥ* |).

The following is another passage occurring in the Calcutta edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvana, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will ensure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity, and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character :

Aranya Kāṇḍa vi. 106, 1 ff. (Calc. ed.): *Tato yuddha-paritāṇṭan samare chintayā sthitam | Rāvaṇaṁ chāgrato dṛiṣṭvā yuddhāya samu-
pasthitam | 2. Daivataiś cha samāgamyā dṛaṣṭum abhyāgato raṇam |
upāgamyābraviḍ Rāmam Agastyo bhagavāṁs tadā | 3. Rāma Rāma
mahābāho śṛiṇu guhyaṁ sanātanam | yena sarvān arin vatsa samare
vijayishyasi | 4. Āditya-hṛidayam puṇyaṁ sarva-śatru-vināśanam |
jayāvahaṁ jagan nityam azayam paramaṁ śivam | 5. Sarva-māṅgala-
māṅgalyaṁ sarva-pāpa-praṇāśanam | chintā-śoka-praśamaṇam āyur-
vardhanam uttamam | 6. Rāsmimantaṁ samudyantaṁ devāsura-nama-
kṛitam | pūjayasva Vivasvantaṁ bhāskaram bhucaneśvaram | 7. Sarva-
devātmano hy eṣha tejasvī rāsmi-bhāvanaḥ | eṣha devāsura-gaṇān lokān
pāti gabhastibhiḥ | 8. Eṣha Brahmā cha Viṣṇuś cha Śivaḥ Skandaḥ
Prajāpatiḥ | Mahendro Dhanadaḥ Kālo Yamaḥ Somo hy Apām̐patiḥ |
9. Pitaro vasavaḥ sādhyā Āsvinau Maruto Manuḥ | Vāyur Vahnīḥ prajā-
prāṇaḥ ritu-karttā prabhākaraḥ | 10. Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūryyaḥ kṣa-
gaḥ Pūṣhā gabhastimān | suvarṇa-sadriśo bhānur hiranya-retā⁴¹ divākaraḥ |
. 26. Pūjayasvainam ekāgro deva-devaṁ jagat-patim | etat tri-
gunitaṁ japtvā yuddheshu vijayishyasi | 27. Asmīn raṇe mahābāho
Rāvaṇaṁ teaṁ jahishyasi | evam uktvā tato 'gastyo jagāma sa yathāga-
tam | etach chhṛutvā mahātejā nashṭa-śoko 'bhavat tadā | dhārayāmāsa
supṛito Rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān | 29. Ādityam prezya japtvedam
param harsham avūptavān | trir āchamya śuchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya
vīryyavān | 30. Rāvaṇam prezya hṛiṣṭātmā jayārthaṁ samupāgamat |
sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas tasya badhe 'bhavat | 31. Atha ravir avadaś
nirīxya Rāmam mudita-manāḥ paramam prahṛiṣhyamānaḥ | niśichara-
pati-saṅxayam viditvā sura-gaṇa-madhya-gato vacas tvareti |*

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the con-

⁴¹ *Axarādhiḥyam ārsham* | Comm.

flict, standing anxious in the battle, and in his front Rāvaṇa, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) joining the gods, arrived to see the conflict; and coming near to Rāma, he said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,⁴² continually muttering it,—(4) the holy *Āditya-hṛidaya* ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat, the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Viṣṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Sādhyas, Aśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, the breath of creatures, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, Āditya, Savitṛi, Sūryya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant, of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day." Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) *Brahmeśānāchyuteśāya*,⁴³ "lord of Brahmā, Iśāna (Śiva), and Achyuta (Viṣṇu)." After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): "Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], thou shalt conquer in battles; in this moment, o great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvaṇa.' Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his bow. Beholding

⁴² See above, p. 328, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, *vatsa*, "my son," applied to him by Viṣṇu. Could, then, the poet here intend to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, when he makes Agastya address him thus?

⁴³ *Brahmeśānāchyutānām śṛiṣṭi-saṁhāra-sthiti-kartṛiṇām īśāya svāmīne |*
"śṛiṣṭi-sthity-anta-karaṇīm Brahma-Viṣṇu-Ś'ivātmikūm | saṁjñām yāti (?) bhaga-
vān eka eva Janārdanaḥ" iti smṛiteḥ | Comm.

Rāvaṇa with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. Then the Sun looking upon Rāma with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rākṣasas, and going into the midst of the gods, uttered the word 'speed.' "

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio's edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred-and-fifth section of the Calc. ed., is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the fourth verse of the hundred-and-seventh section of the Calcutta edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connection; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred-and-seventh section (Calc. ed.) of expressions repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred-and-fifth would lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred-and-sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma's divine character, should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhīṣaṇa had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa, and come over to Rāma's side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Calc. ed.): *Sudushṭo vā'py adushṭo vā kim eva rajani-charaḥ | sūxman apy ahitaṁ karttum mama śaktaḥ kathañchana | piśāchān dānavān yaxān prithivyām chaiva rākṣasān | anguly-agreṇa tñ hanyām icchān hari-gaṇeśvara |* "Whether the Rākṣasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yaxas, and Rākṣasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger." This mode of expression rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio's edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that

he could destroy all those beings "forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon" (*śakto 'haṁ sahasā hantum divyenāstra-balena cha*), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma's terrestrial career is thus told in sections 116 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (116, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma (v. 3). He is admitted and received with honour (v. 9), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to lose his life (v. 13). Rāma informs Laxmaṇa of all this, and desires him to stand outside. Time then tells Rāma (117, 1) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, *i.e.* Viṣṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4-7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Viṣṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 10), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years; that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 15). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsa⁴⁴ comes, and insists on seeing Rāma immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma and all his family (118, 1 ff.). Laxmaṇa, preferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi's message to Rāma (v. 8 f.). Rāma comes out, and when Durvāsa has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that

⁴⁴ Compare p. 165, above.

Lakṣmaṇa should die (v. 16). Lakṣmaṇa, however (119, 2 f.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to abandon him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors concurring in this advice (v. 9), Rāma abandons Lakṣmaṇa, who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses, and is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven. The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Viṣṇu (v. 19). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Lakṣmaṇa (120, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 8). Rāma's subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (v. 12). Messengers are sent to Satrugṇa, the other brother, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (121, 1-14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the "great departure" (*mahā-prasthāna*, 123, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, joyless, with Śrī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the forms of Brahmans, by the Gāyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashatkāra, by rishis, by his women, female slaves, eunuchs, and servants. Bharata with his family, and Satrugṇa, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, etc. etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayū (sect. 123). Brahmā, with all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appears, and all the sky is refulgent with the divine splendour. Pure and fragrant breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls. Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Viṣṇu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter thine own body as Viṣṇu, or the eternal æther. For thou art the abode of the worlds (*loka-gatiḥ*): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇavaṁ tejas*) with his body and his followers. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly.

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the *Mahābhārata* (*Droṇa-parva*, v. 2246) merely speaks of Rāma's going to

heaven with four kinds of creatures (*chaturvidhāḥ prajā Rāmaḥ svar-gaṁ nītvā divaṁ gataḥ*). The Rāmopākhyāna in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator on Kishk. K. sect. 43 (Calc. ed.) remarks on 46 ff. : *Itaḥ uttaram kechid "ramante sahitās tatra nāribhiḥ bhāsvara-prabhāḥ"* (v. 50) *ity antāḥ ślokāḥ praxiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshu anupalambhād iti Katakāḥ* | "Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this (forty-sixth verse) some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) 'They sport there resplendent, along with their women,' are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies."

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa, the commentator remarks: *Itaḥ param pañcha-sargāḥ praxiptā bodhyāḥ* | "After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected." On these five sections, the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth, he gives no commentary. In sect. 24, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the forty-second section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: *Etad-uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpatti-pratishṭhā Rāvaṇasya Sveta-dvīpa-gamaneti-hāsaḥ cha kapatīyair (katipayair?) sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu dṛśyate* | *tat-pūrva-sargānte eva Agastyasya āśrama-gamana-kathanāsaṅgateḥ Kataka-Tīrthādy-anādattatvād mayā'pi na vyākhyātāḥ* | *Uttare bahavaḥ sargāḥ praxiptāḥ* | "That which follows—viz. the celebration of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvaṇa's journey to Sveta-dvīpa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in (?) several sections. But as these sections have not been received by Kataka, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], owing to their inconsistency with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (41, vv. 51, 58 ff.) of Agastya's departure to his hermitage, I have left them uncommented." Sections 43–47 are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 69, he remarks: *Etad-agre praxiptatvāt Kataka-Tīrthābhyām na vyākhyātam* | *etad uttaram grīdhrolākākhyaṇāṇcha kvachid dṛśyate* | "What succeeds has not been explained by

śatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛta-kubjā-veshayā Mantharāyā Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravṛttim vaktum upakramate | "Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa's inauguration," etc. Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Uśabhakarna as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a boon.⁵⁰ The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata, is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 352, note 327.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākṣasas (vv. 1657 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 148 ff.).⁵¹

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative

⁵⁰ The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage quoted above, is here briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvara-śāpena raxitā hy asi nandini | śapto hy eṣa purā pāpo badhūm Rambhām parāmrīṣan | na śaknoty avasāṃ ārin upaitum ajitendriyaḥ* | "Thou art protected, happy one, by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa) having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.'s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman."

⁵¹ My attention has been drawn by a brochure of Professor M. Williams, which is passing through the press, to another passage in the Mahābhārata where Rāma is mentioned. He is there (Droṇa-parva 2224-2248) celebrated in the most hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to "have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men," but no reference appears to be made to his possessing a divine nature. The word *īśvara* applied to him in v. 2242 appears to mean only "lord," and not to be employed in the sense of "god."

Kataka and Tīrtha on the ground of spuriousness. And the story of the vulture and owl which follows is [only] found in some copies." Sections 70-72 have no comment; and in fact the beginning of section 73 seems to be connected with the end of section 69.

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the *Rāmāyaṇa* were regarded by the commentators as spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, as internal evidence proves it to have prevailed in India for many centuries past, of interpolating legendary works such as the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the *Mahābhārata* confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 148 ff.,⁴⁵ Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. x. Preface, p. xlvii. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question (whether the idea of the incarnation of Viṣṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The *Mahābhārata* also contains a history of Rāma, which is told to

⁴⁵ On this passage he observes (p. xlvii.): "Among the names here assigned to Viṣṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of *Krishṇa*, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."

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Vibhīṣhaṇa follows his brother⁴⁹ (v. 15925) Kuvera, who retires to Gaṇḍhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Viṣṇu, the chief of warriors, should descend to earth for his destruction (*tad-artham avatirṇo 'sau man-niyogāch catur-bhujah | Viṣṇuḥ praharatām śreṣṭhaḥ sa tat karma karishyati* |). No account, is, however, given of the way in which Viṣṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Viṣṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions to a Gandharvī called Dundubbī, who was born on earth as Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha's throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15960 ff.).

This portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, need not have formed an original part of the poem: though an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: *Asi tatra Nala nāma vānarah śilpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur devasya tanayo balasān Vīra-karmanah* | "There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman."

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Calcutta edition, in these words: *Atha Sitāyā Laṅkā-pura-praveśam vinā Rāvaṇa-badhahyāśak-*

⁴⁹ In v. 16158 f. Vibhīṣhaṇa is said to dwell with a white umbrella, and white garlands, on the Sveta-parvata, or, "white mountain," attended by his four counselors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarna, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314, he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rāmāyaṇa, v. 89, 1, 43, Gorr.; and vi. 17, 1, Calc. ed.

yalayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛita-kubjā-veshayā Mantharāyā Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravṛittim vaktum upakramate | "Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa's inauguration," etc. Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarna as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a boon.⁵⁰ The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata, is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 352, note 327.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rāxasas (vv. 1657 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 148 ff.).⁵¹

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative

⁵⁰ The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage quoted above, is here briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvara-śūpena razitā hy asi nandini | śapto hy esha purā pāpo badhiṃ Rambhām parāmṛśhan | na śaknoty avasāṃ nārīṃ upaitum ajitendriyaḥ* | "Thou art protected, happy one, by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa) having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.'s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman."

⁵¹ My attention has been drawn by a brochure of Professor M. Williams, which is passing through the press, to another passage in the Mahābhārata where Rāma is mentioned. He is there (Droṇa-parva 2224-2248) celebrated in the most hyperbolic language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to "have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men," but no reference appears to be made to his possessing a divine nature. The word *īśvara* applied to him in v. 2242 appears to mean only "lord," and not to be employed in the sense of "god."

in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled to greet him, and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, being teased with the visits of different damsels, proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage should become pregnant. This had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Triṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya's neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa = Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). He performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rākṣasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Viṣṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rākṣasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin. He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Viṣṇu. Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings,—some of whom received the name of Rākṣasas,—to guard them. The first Rākṣasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married a sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Lankāṭaṅkatā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśa, whom she abandoned, but he was seen by Siva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as old as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a royal city. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rākṣasa women the

power of immediate conception and parturition (v. 30). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12) and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods (16). Viśvakarman gave them a city, Laṅkā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built at the command of Indra (v. 25). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramushti, Virūpāxa, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Analā (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli's wife, Ketumatī, bears Prahasta, Kampāna, Vikāṣa, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrāxa, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrāḍi, Pradyasa, Bhāsaakarna, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkāṭā, Kaikasī, and Kumbhīnasī (v. 39 ff.). Māli's wife, Vasudā, bore Analā, Nīla, Hara, and Sampātī (v. 43). The three Rāxasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, then began to oppress the gods, rishis, etc.; who (sect. 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva ("the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds"), who, having regard to his protégé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rāxasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Viṣṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). The three Rāxasa kings, hearing of this, consult together (v. 23 ff.), and proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46). Viṣṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rāxasas are defeated by Viṣṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Laṅkā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (v. 42). Mālyavat remonstrates with Viṣṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct, and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.). Viṣṇu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rāxasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Laṅkā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Viṣṇu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rāxasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a

long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Laṅkā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumālī once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasī to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously. She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvaṇa (v. 29), of the huge Kumbhakarṇa (v. 34), of Sūrpanakhā, and of the righteous Vibhīṣhaṇa, who was the last son (v. 35).⁵² These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarṇa goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasī takes occasion to urge her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarṇa with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvaṇa throws his head as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He repeats this oblation nine times after equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhīṣhaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 411) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the weapon of Brahmā may appear to him unlearned," etc. (*paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | asixitañcha brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me*⁵³). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarṇa, the gods interpose, as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; and beg that under

⁵² This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 411), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here), is also a son of Viśravas.

⁵³ The commentator explains these last words thus: *asixitaṁ sad-gurūpadeśaṁ vināpīṭy arthaḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varāṇaṁ aśeṣa brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nivṛttaye* | "Unlearned, that is, [may it appear to me], even without the instruction of a good teacher. The weapon of Brahmā is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge."

the guise of a boon stupefaction may be inflicted on him. Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives, and by Brahmā's command (*Vāṇī tvaṁ Rāxasendrasya bhava vāg-devatepsitā*) enters into Kumbhakarna's mouth, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).⁵⁴ When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, by his father's advice, gives up the city of Laṅkā to Ravana (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 41, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. *Asau punar vyākaraṇaṁ grahīshyan sūryonmukhaḥ prasṭu-manāḥ kapīndraḥ | udyad-girer asta-giriṁ jagāma grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ |* 45. *Sa-sūtra-vṛitty-ārtha-padam mahārthaṁ sa-sangrahaṁ sīdhyati vai kapīndraḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sadriṣo 'sti śāstre vaiśārada chhanda-gatau tathaiva | sarvāsu vidyāsu tapo-vidhāne praspardhate 'yaṁ hi guruṁ surāṇām |* "44. Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on enquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz., the aphorisms (*sūtra*), the commentary (*vṛitti*), the *vārttika* (*ārtha-pada*), of extensive contents, and the sangraha [of Vyāḍi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: *Udyad-girer mahad granthaṁ dhārayan arthataḥ pāṭhataś cha grihṇan | dhārayan aprameya iti nuḍ-abhāva ārshaḥ | sūrya-sāmmukhyārthaṁ tāvad gama-nam |* 45. *Ko 'sau granthas tatrāha sa-sūtreṇi | sūtram aṣṭādhyāyī-*

⁵⁴ The commentator remarks here: *evam ity atra śaṅ-māsād arvāk jōgaranaṁ neti niyamaḥ | tad-adhikam api nidrā tu bhavaty eveti vara-svarūpam bodhyam | ata eva śaṅ-māsān svapitīti pūrvaṁ Vibhīṣaṇoktyā varṣhāny anekāniti Kumbhakarnaoktyā cha pūrvoktasya na virodhaḥ |* "In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarna should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhīṣaṇa that 'he sleeps six months,' and Kumbhakarna here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former."

laxaṇam | vṛttis tātkalika-sūtra-vṛttih | artha-padam sūtrārtha-bodha-
ka-pada-eṇ vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāṣyam Patanjali-kṛtam |
na-saṅgraham Vyāḍi-kṛta-saṅgrahākhyā-grantha-sahitam | vidhyati tai
vidhā bhavati śāstrāntarvāc apity arthaḥ | tad evāha | na hy aya
śāstrinā śāstra bahvit chhanda-gateṣu pūrvottara-mīmāṃsā-mukhe
vedārtha-nirṇaye vaiśāradhe vaidikāye | viśiṣhya navama-vyākaraṇa-kartā
Hanumān iti prasiddhir iti Katakāḥ | ayaṁ Gurum prapardhate |
 "From the mountain where the sun rises, 'holding,' apprehending in
 sense and in text 'the great collection.' The absence of the reduplicated
 * in *dāraṇam aprameyaḥ* is vedic (*draha*). He went to face the sun.
 45. In the words 'with the sūtras,' etc., he describes what the book
 was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (*aśṭādhyāyī*). The
vṛtti is the contemporaneous gloss on the sūtras (*sūtra-vṛtti*). The
artha-pada, 'of extensive contents,' is the *vārttika*, the mahābhāṣya
 composed by Patanjali, containing sentences explaining the sense of the
 sūtras. 'With the *saṅgraha*,' means with the book called *Saṅgraha*,
 composed by Vyāḍi. 'He is perfect' means he excels in other śāstras
 also, as the author goes on to say; 'for no one is like him in the
 śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,' in determining the meaning of the
 Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā. 'In skill,' i.e.
 in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the
 ninth author of Grammar; such is Katakā's explanation."

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays
 ii. pp. 39, 48.

Page 159, line 15.

The word *Ākhaṇḍala* occurs in R. V. viii. 17, 12, and the words are
 quoted in the Nirukta iii. 10, *Ākhaṇḍala pra hūyaḥ* : "o *Ākhaṇḍala*,
 thou art invoked." It is rendered by "destroyer" in Böhtlingk and
 Roth's Lexicon.

Page 195, lines 11 and 27.

Instead of "*mārjāliyāya*," read "*mārjāliyāya*." When I rendered
 this word by "cat," the only significations of it of which I was aware,
 were those given in Wilson's Dictionary. I have since accidentally
 noticed it mentioned in a sentence of Sāyaṇa's Commentary on R. V. i.
 (prachyavādi-chatur-dig-anteshe āharaniya-mārjāliya-gārhapatyā-

gnīdhriya-sthāneshv agnir asti), as the name of one of the four sacrificial fires. The word also (as Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me) occurs in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 5, 32, where it is explained by the commentator. Instead, therefore, of "the cat," read in line 27, "the Mārjāliya fire."

Page 206, line 5 from the bottom.

Krishna, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice :

Udyoga-parva, vv. 147 ff.—*Mat-saṁhanana-tulyānām*⁵⁵ *gopānām arbudam mahat | Nārāyaṇā iti khyātāḥ sarve saṅgrāma-yodhināḥ | te vā yudhī durādharshā bhavantu ekasya sainikāḥ | ayudhyamānaḥ saṅgrāme nyastaśastro 'ham ekataḥ | ābhyām anyataram Pārtha yat te hṛidyataram matam | tad vṛṇītām bhavān agre pravāryas tvaṁ hi dharmataḥ |* "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṇas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men : or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage, in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Prithā, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee ; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Krishna himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (*Nārāyaṇam amitraghnaṁ kāmāj jātam ajam nṛishu*), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

Page 222, last line of note 201.

The story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is also told in the Mahābhārata, Sāhya-parva (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchir Vāsavād bhītaḥ sūryya-raśmīm samāviśat | tenendraḥ sakhyam akarot samayañchedam abravīt | "na chārdrena na śushkena na rātrau nāpi chāhani | badhishyāmy asura-śreshṭha sakhe satyena te śape" | evaṁ sa kṛitvā samayaṁ dṛishṭvā nīharam īśvaraḥ | chichhedāsya śiro rājann apām phenena Vāsavaḥ | tach chhiro Namuchēś chhinnaṁ pṛishṭhataḥ Śakram anviyāt |*

⁵⁵ The word *saṁhanana* occurs also in Drona-parva, v. 147. "

*llo mitrahena pūpeti brucāṇaṁ Sakram antikāt | evaṁ sa kīrasā tena
 chodjannūnāṁ punaḥ punaḥ | Pitāmahāya santapta etam arthaṁ nysceda-
 yat | tena abravīt loka-gurur aruṇāyāṁ yathāvidhī | iṣṭvopasṛjita
 dāmodra tīrtke gāṇa-lhayaṇaḥ |* "Namuchi being afraid of Indra,
 entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him,
 and uttered this agreement: 'I shall neither slay thee with wet nor
 with dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee,
 my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.' Having made this agree-
 ment, the lord Vāsava (Indra), beholding a fog, [when it was neither
 night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which
 was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchī, after being cut
 off, followed close after Indra, calling out, 'o wicked slayer of thy
 friend.' Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being
 distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitāmaha (Brahmā).
 The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahmā) said to him: 'Having
 sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṇā, that sacred spot, which
 removes sin and fear,' etc.

Page 245, line 30.

"No mortal," etc. These words are differently explained by the
 commentator, thus: *Jarāsandheṇa abhāgaḥ avikṛitāḥ | puruṣhataḥ
 mārūṭābhiḥkīlīteṣu puruṣheṣu | tena sarve vaśīkṛitāḥ ity arthaḥ |*
"Abhāgaḥ means 'unappropriated' by Jarāsandha. *Puruṣhataḥ* means
 'among anointed kings.' The sense is, that 'all have been subdued
 by him.'"

Page 253, line 12.

Compare R. V. viii. 22, 14, in p. 265.

Page 293, line 2.

Rukma-vedi-nibhāḥ. In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described
 as *rukma-vedi-gatam*, which the commentator explains as *rukma-vedin
 prāptaṁ hiranyasāḥaka-chīṭān vedin prāptam*, "mounted on a platform
 of golden bricks."

Page 310, line 10.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, Calc. ed.), his
 queen, Māṇodārī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him,

speaks of him (v. 49) as *jetāraṁ lokapālānāṁ zeptāraṁ Saṅkarasya cha*, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Saṅkara." Saṅkara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandiśvara quoted above, p. 393, it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Sankara.

Page 344, line 20.

I have not observed any mention of the *Liṅga* in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: *Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvaṇo rāxasēvaraḥ | jāmbūnadamayāṁ liṅgaṁ tatra tatra sma nīyate | 43. Bālukā-vedi-madhye tu tal liṅgaṁ sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ | archayāmāsa gandhaiś cha pushpaiś chāmṛita-gandhibhiḥ |* "Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rāxasas, went, a golden *liṅga* was carried thither. Placing that *liṅga* in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour."

The commentator remarks on v. 43: *Āiśvaryya-kāmanayā sauvarṇa-liṅga-pūjā[yās?] tantreshūkteḥ |* "For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden *liṅga* should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty."

Page 350, line 15.

For "verse 26," read "verse 28." In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: *Vṛiddhāṁścha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidaḥ śuchān | vṛiddha-sevī hi satataṁ raxobhir api pūjyate |* "Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmans, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rāxasas." Can this verse refer to the character *vṛiddha-sevī* given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 26) quoted in the text? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connection? The coincidence is at least curious.

Page 354, last line.

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit as

given in the thirty-second and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvana in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra becomes afraid and resorts to Vishṇu (sect. 32, 6) whom he glorifies as the Creator and Destroyer, and asks his aid (v. 13). Vishṇu replies that he could not interfere without killing Rāvana,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākṣasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). A battle takes place between the gods and Rākṣasas (v. 26). The eighth Vāsu Sūvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, and kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (sect. 33). The Rākṣasas are rallied by Indrajit, and the gods put to flight. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray. After his son's apparent destruction (v. 33)—though he in reality only disappears—Indra himself comes upon the scene, and captures Rāvana (sect. 34, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Ravana), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, binds Indra (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, go to Lankā (sect. 35). Brahmā praises Indrajit's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit ("the conqueror of Indra"). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released. Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality. This Brahmā refuses. Indrajit then asks that if he offers a sacrifice to Agni he shall obtain Agni's car, and that while he is mounted on that chariot he shall be immortal; but if he shall not have finished the rite, he is to be liable to destruction (see above, p. 354). Brahmā agrees to this, and Indra is released. Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 18-42) that he had incurred this misfortune because he had corrupted Ahalyā, the first woman, whom Brahmā had made and had given to the sage Gautama. She, however, would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishṇu incarnate in Rāma, and Indra himself was to offer a Vaishṇava sacrifice (see pp. 249, 353, above, and compare the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sections of the Twelfth Book of the Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Schl.; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above p. 420). I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā:

Sect. 35, 19 ff.—*Amareṇḍra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ ṛṣiḥṣṭās tatā
 prabho | eka-carnāḥ samābhāṣā ekā-rūpās cha sarvaśaḥ | tāṣāṃ nāsti
 viśeṣo hi darśane laṅge 'pi vā | tato 'haṃ ekāgra-manās tāḥ prajāḥ
 samābhīntayam | so 'haṃ tāṣāṃ viśeṣārthaṃ strīyaṃ ekāṃ vinirmayam |
 tat prajāṇāṃ pratyṅgaṃ viśiṣṭāṃ tat tad uddhṛitam | tato mayā*

rūpa-guṇair Ahalyā stri vinirmītā | "O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then with intent mind reflected on these creatures. In order to distinguish them I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. A woman faultless (*ahalyā*) in form was then fashioned by me."

Page 363, line 3 from bottom.

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R. V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Mandala = *Ashtaka viii. 7, 14*). I will first give the text with a translation of the genuine hymn to Night (R. V. x. 127) and then quote the *Parīśiṣṭa* :

R. V. x. 127.—1. *Rātri vi akhyad āyatī purutrā devī azabhiḥ | viś-rāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhita* | 2. *Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nivato devī udvataḥ | jyotishā bād hate tamaḥ* | 3. *Nir ā svasāram askrita ushasam devī āyatī | apa id u hāsate tamaḥ* | 4. *Sā no adya yasyā vayam ni te yāmann avix-mahi | vrixe na vasatiṁ vayah* | 5. *Ni grāmāso avixata ni padcanto ni paxinaḥ | ni śyenāśaś chid arthinaḥ* | 6. *Yāvaya vrikaṁ vrikaṁ yavaya stenam ūrmye | athā naḥ sutarā bhava* | 7. *Upa mā pepīśat tamaḥ krish-naṁ vyaktam asthita | ushaḥ rinā iva yātaya* | 8. *Upa te gāḥ iva ā akaraṁ vrinīśva duhitar divaḥ | rātri stomaṁ na jigyushe* | "The divine Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has revealed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness. 3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the darkness is dissipated. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have come into thy course, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, and even suppliant hawks have entered in thither. 6. Drive away, o Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief: and carry us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness enveloping (?) me, dark and palpable, has beset me: do thou, Ushas, drive it away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have prepared for thee a hymn, as it were a

present of cows, like [an encomium] for a conqueror. Receive it, o Night, daughter of the Day."

1. (= Nir. iv. 29.; A. V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—*Ā rātri pārthivaṃ rajaṣ pitur aprāyi dhāmabhiḥ | divaḥ sadāṃsi brīhaṭi vi tiṣṭhaṃ ā treshaṃ cartate tamaḥ* | 2. (A. V. 19, 47, 3) *Ye te rātri nrichasno yuktāso⁶⁶ navatir nava | aṣṭiḥ santv aṣṭā uto te sapta saptaṭiḥ* | 3. *Rātrim prapadye jananiṃ sarva-bhūta-niveśanīm⁶⁷ | dhadrām bhogvatiṃ krihṇām viśvasya jagato niśām* | 4. *Samveśanīm saṃyamasīm graha-nakatra-mālinīm | prapanno 'haṃ śivām rātrīm bhadre pāram aśimahi bhadre pāram aśimahi om namaḥ* | 5. *Stoṣhyāmi prayato devīm śaranyām bahṛicha-priyām | sahasra-sammitām Durgām Jāta-vedase sunarāma somam* | 6. *Sānty-artham tad devijātīnām rikṣābhiḥ somapā śritāḥ (samupāśritā ?) | ṛig-vedo tvaṃ samutpannā⁶⁸ 'rātriyato nidehāti vedāḥ* | 7. *Ye tvām devi prapadyante brāhmaṇā havya-vāhanīm | acidyā bahuridyā vā sa naḥ parshad ati durgāni viśvā* | 8. *Agni-vargām śubhām saumyām kīrtayishyanti ye devijāḥ | tān tārayati durgāni nāreva sindhuṃ duritā 'ty Agniḥ* | 9. *Durgeshu viśame ghore sangrāme ripu-saṅkṣaṭe | agni-chora-nipāteshu duṣṭa-graha-nivārane* | 10. *Durgeshu viśameshu trīm sangrāmeshu vaneshu cha | mohayiteā prapadyante teṣām me abhayaṃ kuru teṣām me abhayaṃ kuru om namaḥ* | 11. *Keṇīnīm sarva-bhūtānām pañchanīti cha nāma cha | sām mām samā niśā devī sarvataḥ pariraxatu sarvataḥ pariraxatu om namaḥ* | [v. 12 is the same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text (p. 363), beginning *tām agni-vargām*, etc.] | 13. *Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu śaṃ no devīr abhiśṭaye | ya imaṃ Durgā-stavam puṇyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṭhet | rātriḥ kuśikāḥ saubhara rātri-stavo gūyatri | rātri-sūktam jāped nityam tat-kālam upapadyate* |

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for some assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

"1. O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's rays (?). Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and thick darkness prevails. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee⁶⁹ be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I approach Night, the mother

⁶⁶ For *yuktāso*, the A. V. reads *draśṭūrāḥ*, "seers."

⁶⁷ This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R. V. i. 35, 1: *rātrīm jagato niveśanīm*.

⁶⁸ Or, according to the reading of the A. V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers, be 99, 88, or 77."

who finds a home for all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have approached the auspicious Night, who causes men to enter [their abodes], who controuls, who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. O gracious night, may we reach the opposite shore! may we reach the opposite shore! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvrichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. Thou who art resorted to by rishis for the expiation of twice-born men, hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. [Agni] burns up the wealth of him who injures us. 7. The Brahmins, learned or ignorant, who resort, o goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as with a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. Bewildered (?) in difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired (?), among all creatures, and whose name is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 363, line 11). May the divine (?) Durgā be propitious for our good in difficult places. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatrī),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time."

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

Page 365, line 3.

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: *Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kāla-nishṭhā-karī prabho | bhayān[tayā ?] naḥ pāhi pāpēbhyaḥ aihikāch-cha mahābhayāt | 53. Karālī nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ityādi | 54. Manojavā cha yā jihvā laghimā-guṇa-laxaṇā | tayā ityādi | 55. Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā*

ityādi | 56. *Sudhūmra-varṇā yā jīhvā prāṇinām roga-dāyikā* | *tayā ityādi* | 57. *Sphuliṅginī cha yā jīhvā yataḥ (?) sakala-pudgalā* | *tayā ityādi* | 58. *Yā te Viśvā sadā jīhvā prāṇinām śarma-dāyinī* | *tayā ityādi* | “52. By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhūmravarṇa, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphuliṅginī, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc.

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: *Tvām aṣṭadhā kalpayitvā yajñam ādyam akalpayan* | “Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice.” Does this refer to the legend from the Brahmanas given in pp. 283–289? Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Satarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 268, 269) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventieth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahne śivam rūpaṁ ye cha te sapta-hetayaḥ | taiḥ pāhi naḥ stuto deva pitā puttram ivātmajam* | “When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son.”

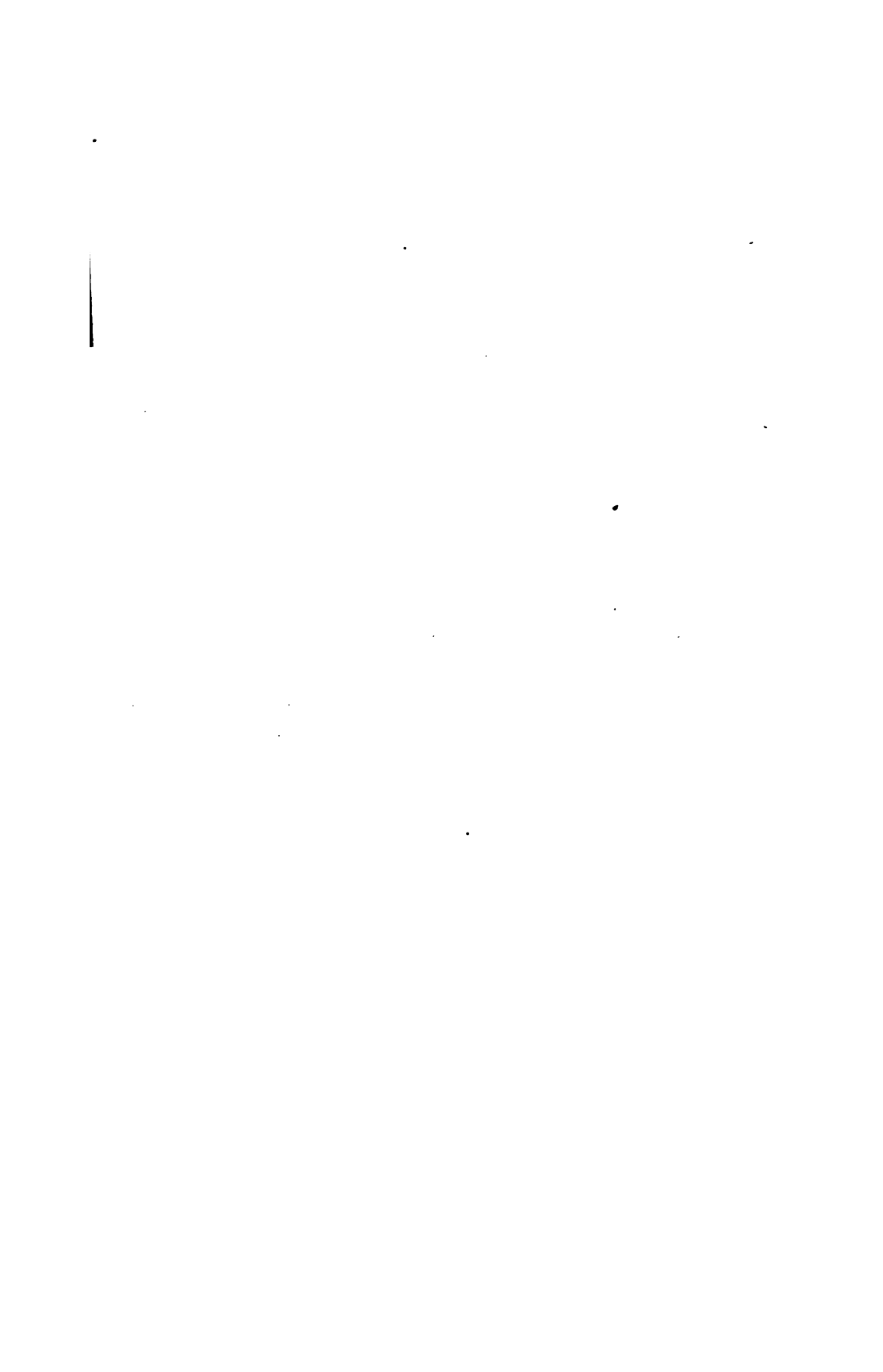
In v. 63 Agni is said to have “stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes” (*tvayā tataṁ viśvam idaṁ charācharam* *Hutāśanaiko bahudhā tvam atra*).

ADDITIONAL NOTE on page 115, line 9.

In the Calcutta edition, section 29, the reading here is different, as the words *Kaśyapo 'bravīt* are succeeded by the following: *Adityā devatā-nāṁcha mama chaivānuyāchitam | varaṁ varada supṛito dātum arhasi suvrata* | “Bestow in thy good pleasure the boon solicited by Aditi, by the gods, and by me. Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi,” etc. etc., as in Schlegel. Then after the line *Sōkārttānām tu devānām sākāryam*

karttum arhasi comes the following: v. 18. *Ayam siddhāśramo nāma prasādāt te bhaviṣhyati | siddhe karmaṇi doṣeṣa uttiṣṭha bhagavann itaḥ |* 19. *Atha Viṣṇur mahāteja Ādityāṁ samajāyata | vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya Vairochanim upāgamat |* 20. *Trin padān atha bhixitvā ityadi |* “‘By thy grace this shall be the hermitage of the perfect. When thy work is accomplished, arise hence, o divine being.’ Then the glorious Viṣṇu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana, and begging three paces of ground,” etc. It will be observed that an attempt is here made to connect the legend of the birth of Viṣṇu from Kaśyapa and Aditi with the story of the dwarf incarnation more closely than it is connected in Schlegel’s edition; for first, Kaśyapa is made to allude to the “hermitage of the perfect,” as if he were himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel’s edition; and secondly, the transition from the digression about Viṣṇu’s birth as the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi back to the story of the dwarf incarnation is more cleverly managed here than in Schlegel’s edition, as here the words *evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇuḥ* (“being thus addressed by the gods, Viṣṇu,” etc.) which in Schlegel’s edition (v. 17) carry us back to v. 8, and ignore all that intervenes, are omitted. It will also be noticed that another verse (the one quoted at the commencement of this note) is introduced at the beginning of Kaśyapa’s address to Viṣṇu, in which the gods are mentioned as fellow-suppliants with Kaśyapa. This alteration also appears to have been made to facilitate the transition from the interpolated lines back to the main story.

It is to be observed, however, that the readings of the Calcutta edition differ from those of Schlegel’s in several respects at the beginning of the section also.



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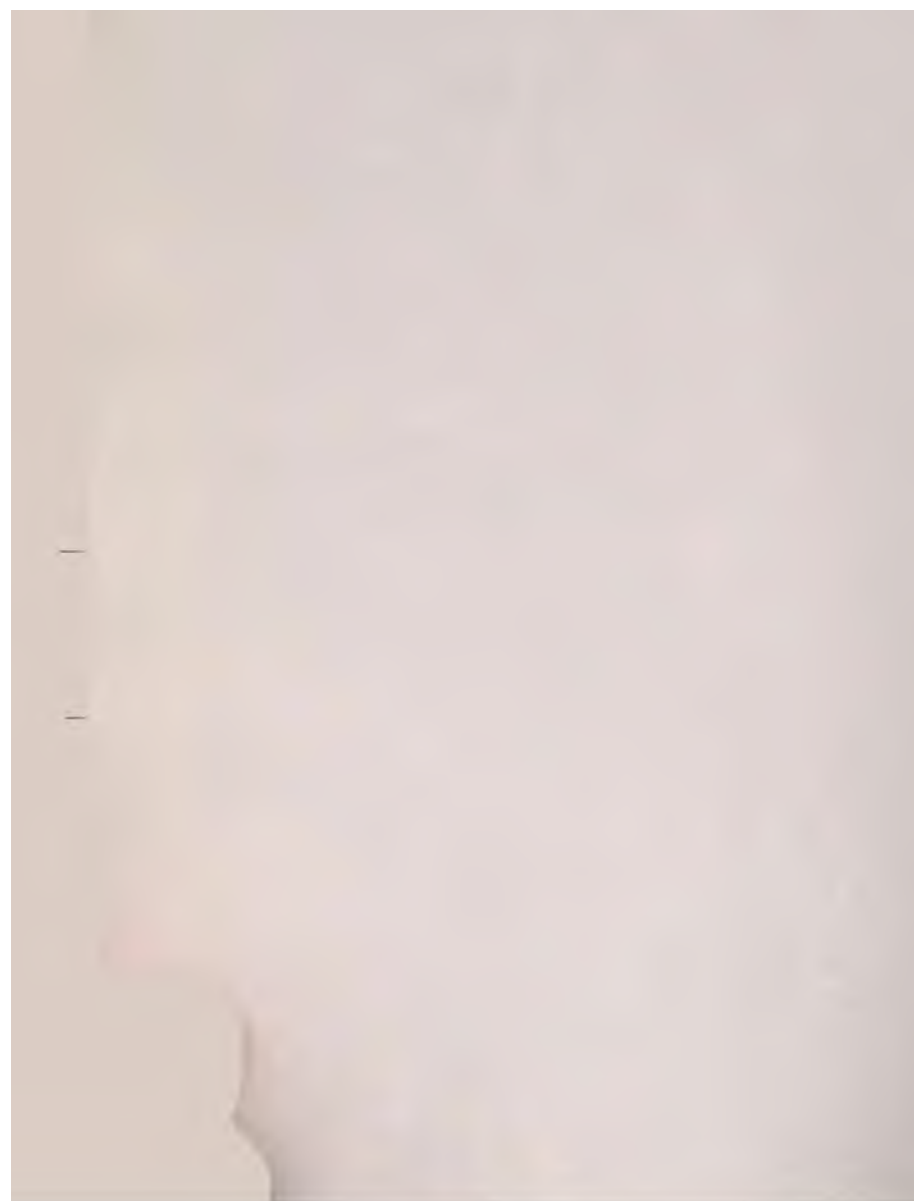
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